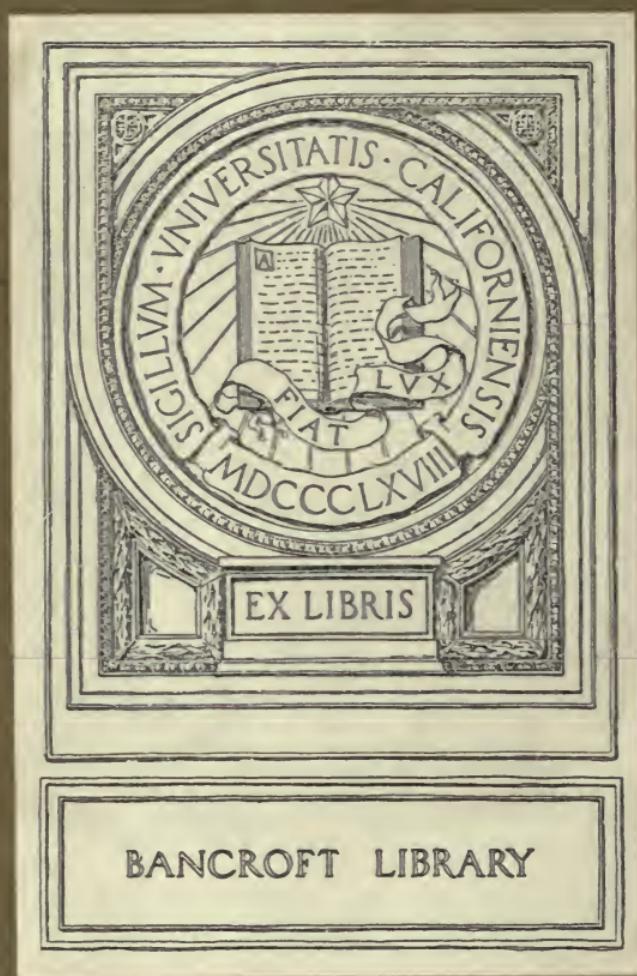


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# LIFE OF \* \* \*



# BRIGHAM YOUNG



SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

GEORGE Q. CANNON & SONS CO., PUBLISHERS.

1893.



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# LIFE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

"When questions pregnant with great events pressed hard, he was able to build upon the firm foundation of wisdom and justice, forecast the future, meet the demands of the present, and then in a breath show his confidence in God, his freedom from care, by caressing the lips of innocent childhood and tenderly winning the love of babes."—*Moses Thatcher*.

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SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH:  
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1893.

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## PREFACE.

THE following pages contain a brief outline of the leading events in the career of Brigham Young, the Founder of Utah. It has been a difficult task to condense, into the compass of a few pages, the story of a life so full of important history as was his, and necessarily the result of such an effort must be imperfect.

Disclaiming originality, save in the arrangement, the author has woven the fabric of his interesting theme from the threads of a score of historical works. Facts have been culled especially from Tullidge's "Life" of Brigham Young; or Utah and Her Founders," and "History of Salt Lake City;" Whitney's "History of Utah," Vols. 1 and 2; Bancroft's "History of Utah;" "Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt;" Cannon's "Life of Joseph Smith," and "History of the Mormons;" Jenson's "Historical Record;" "Death of President Young;" "The Contributor," and other books.

The aim has been to make this "Life" reliable and accurate, in matters of fact; and the purpose, to interest the new generation of citizens in the great founder of our Territory,—a man whose genius is apparent in every city and village of our prosperous commonwealth.

THE AUTHOR.

July, 1893.



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# THE LIFE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG.

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## I. GENERAL SKETCH.

IN time it will be acknowledged that among the great historical characters of our country no person occupies a more distinct position than Brigham Young. Born in our own country, his acts are as distinctively American as are those of any other hero who has ever aided in the furtherance of our national prosperity, from the father of his country to the saviors of the Union.

In the Old World, men who have taken an active part in the struggles of their time, towering above their fellows, have generally risen to eminence by means of either the royalty of birth or that of education. On this continent, on the contrary, occasions have demanded men, and these have been found, ready at call to answer the summons of their day. They have been poor, often uneducated, but they were practical, popular, fervent, and just the men for their work. To such natures the people have instinctively turned for aid in the hour of need. Brigham Young was a man of this class. He was a man of the age, and when the appeal for aid was sounded, he was on hand as if by design of destiny to answer to the

requirements. His parents being poor, he had no opportunity for an early education, and in youth gave no special promise of that strength of will and force of character which he afterward so abundantly exemplified in his leadership of the Mormons.

But like the great Jewish deliverer, Moses, who, fleeing from the wrath of his king, departed to the desert of Midian to fit himself by study and meditation for the strenuous tasks of after life, so Brigham Young, the liberator of modern Israel, had his period of preparation. He was over thirty years of age when he adopted the faith of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and it was during the trying time of twelve years, from his baptism, in 1832, until his return to Nauvoo upon receiving the tidings of the martyrdom, that every surrounding vicissitude tended to prepare him for his future life-work.

Called to be an Apostle three years after his initiation into the Church, he six years thereafter, upon the apostasy of Thomas B. Marsh, and the death of David W. Patten, became the president of his quorum, being thus practically placed next to the Prophet, who ever held him very dear. He extended the missionary field among the red men, with whom he must afterward so carefully and wisely deal; he built temples, studied and officiated therein; defended his Prophet leader during the dark days of the Kirtland apostasy; passed through the bloody scenes of Missouri, leading his scattered and driven people, amidst poverty, sickness and death, to safety and rest in a neighboring friendly State; and finally crossed the Atlantic to assist in planting the gospel standard in Great Britain, where he set in motion the tide of emigration which has brought joy to the hearts of ten thousand poor.

Thus did the all-wise Power which shapes our destinies surround Brigham Young with the educating mutations and influences that should fit him for his after career as deliverer, leader, law-giver, diplomat, colonizer, statesman.

It is in what may be termed the second period of his life that his capacity and power so abundantly are made manifest. As if it were designed by Providence that he should not be present to prevent the martyrdom, he was on a mission in the East when he heard of the sad death of the Prophet, and upon his arrival in Nauvoo the inhabitants of the fated Mormon city by natural impulse turned to him for help. He silenced their divisions, calmed their fears, inspired them with courage and hope, until the multitude felt and confessed that the spirit which had moved Joseph in his work was living in Brigham Young.

With matchless will and energy he laid hold of the stupendous exodus of a people, and, amidst indescribable suffering and hardship, piloted them through the deserts and over the mountains to a new home in the wilderness.

In the crowning period of his career he founded, in this new retreat, a commonwealth, to which he invited thousands of the poor from the four corners of the earth, rescued them from poverty and raised them to independence, taught them honesty, thrift, industry, patriotism for their adopted country, and, with the keen foresight of a statesman, showed them how to develop the hidden resources of their surroundings. He founded hundreds of cities and towns, and completed for his people an organization unsurpassed in the annals of history.

For more than thirty years he was their spiritual guide and their temporal leader, and dying he left upon

them and their institutions the impress of his master mind and character.

Thus we have a brief outline of the marvelous work which Brigham Young performed. The question may naturally arise in the mind of the reader, Whence the origin of this wisdom, this ability? Was it the result of his own study and meditation, or was it brought about by the power and inspiration of the Almighty? We must in this matter consider his own testimony. For all he did, he gave to God the glory. He was a strong believer in the divine mission of Joseph Smith, and testified with firmness that he himself was inspired of the Lord. As well deny the fabric which we see, as reject the positive statement of the builder that he was of God instructed.

If men count his work as the mere result of human intellect, they deny the declaration of the man himself, who performed it, and refuse to accept the settled belief of the thousands who aided him in its accomplishment.

It detracts nothing from his fame that he did not originate the doctrines, designs and theories which he enunciated, carried on, and brought to a successful issue. He was a fulfiller of prophecy, the chosen instrument of God—fame enough. It is natural that a man like Brigham Young, and a cause such as he represented, had and has enemies—his closing years were embittered by them—but even the most virulent of these must admit that he was a man of unusual mental force, courageous, undaunted, in his calling successful.

Whatever may be the outcome of the doctrines which he promulgated, whatever the fate of the people for whose prosperity and welfare he devoted his life's energies, so much success has attended him and them that he will

ever be regarded as one of our nation's great men, one of its most wonderful characters.

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## II. THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

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### FROM BIRTH TO BAPTISM.

The years intervening between the birth of the great Mormon leader and his return to Nauvoo, just after the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith, may be regarded as the time during which an all-wise Creator prepared him by a variety of trying experiences for effectively accomplishing his great after achievements. Let us take a hasty view of the leading incidents of this period.

Brigham Young was born in the daybreak of the nineteenth century, June 1st, 1801, in Whitingham, Windham County, Vermont. His father, John, was born March 7th, 1763, in Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, and at an early age enlisted in the American Revolutionary Army, serving under General Washington. His grandfather, Joseph Young, served in the French and Indian war.

In a family of five sons and six daughters Brigham was the ninth child. The family removed to Whitingham in 1801, where his father continued his occupation of farming, remaining in that region for three years. In 1804 they removed to Sherburn, Shenango County, New York. Their financial circumstances were such that the

children could only be given a common school training, and Brigham received only a limited amount of that. He assisted his father on the farm, engaging in the arduous labors common to establishing settlements in a new and heavily timbered region of country. At the age of sixteen, by permission of his father, he began business for himself, earning his sustenance as best he could. Like every thoughtful youth, he adopted a trade, through which, by the sweat of his brow, he was taught the nobility of labor. He learned how to work as carpenter, joiner, painter and glazier, in the last of which occupations he was an expert craftsman.

Up to this time, though trained by his parents to lead a moral life, he had taken little interest in religion, but the family were Methodists, and he naturally inclined to their belief, joining that sect when he was twenty-two years of age.

On the 8th of October, 1824, he married Miriam Works, in Aurelius, Cayuga County, New York. In this place he labored for a number of years, in his chosen vocation, gaining an experience that was of untold value to him when later he stood with his people amidst the undeveloped resources of the wilderness. In the spring of 1829 he moved to Mendon, Monroe County, New York, where his father then resided. It was here, in the spring of 1830, that he first saw a copy of the Book of Mormon, which had been left at the home of his brother Phineas, by Samuel H. Smith, a brother of the Prophet.

Mormonism was at this time taking root in the western part of New York and in northern Pennsylvania, and Elders occasionally came preaching in his neighborhood. It was not, however, until after a visit to a branch of the Church in Columbia, Pennsylvania, in January,

1832, in company with Heber C. Kimball and his brother Phineas, formerly a reformed Methodist preacher, but now a convert to Mormonism, that he was deeply impressed with the principles of the new religion upon which he now carefully and prayerfully reflected. In this state of mind he hastened to Canada to repeat the tidings to his brother Joseph, who was then preaching the Methodist faith. Singular enough, he also accepted the testimony, when they returned together and promptly united themselves with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Brigham was baptized on the 14th day of April, 1832, by Elder Eleazer Miller, being that evening, also by the same person, confirmed and ordained an Elder. His faithful wife followed him into the waters of baptism some three weeks thereafter, but she did not live long to enjoy the blessings of the gospel, for on the 8th of September following she died, leaving him two daughters—one two years of age and the other seven.

About this time many people were baptized in and about Mendon, and Brigham, with his friend Heber C. Kimball, who had also joined the Church, ordained to the ministry, rendered efficient service to the cause thereabout.

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## 2. MEETING THE PROPHET.

In the meantime a revelation had been given, through the mouth of the Prophet Joseph Smith, calling upon Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer and Ziba Peterson to go into the wilderness through the western States, and to the Indian Territory, to preach the gospel to the Indians and present to them the Book of Mormon. It had already been conceived by Joseph "that

the West, and not the East, was the field of Mormonism's greater destiny," and he looked in that direction for a Zion which was to be "called the New Jerusalem a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the Saints of the Most High God." Hence the sending of these first missionaries to the West.

The Elders left New York late in October, 1830, to fill their missions. On their way they tarried in Kirtland, then a city of probably two thousand inhabitants, where they preached the gospel. They were very successful, and within three weeks after their arrival one hundred and twenty-seven souls were baptized, which number soon grew to over a thousand, many of whom afterward became noted in the chronicles of the Church. The location of the City of Zion, referred to above, had not yet been declared, but it was understood generally that it would be situated "on the borders by the Lamanites," or Indians. Before proceeding further west, the Elders reported their labors and success to the Prophet, and he soon realized that Kirtland would be a suitable resting place for the Saints, a Stake of Zion, where the Church could remain until it should gather strength to build this central city. Accordingly, before the close of the year the word went forth to his followers in the East to dispose of their possessions, remove West, and "assemble together on the Ohio." The Prophet himself arrived for the first time in Kirtland in February, 1831. Having set the branch in order, and at a general conference June 6th, called a number of Elders to bear the gospel to the Missouri frontiers, he departed for that region June 19th. He went to Jackson County, Missouri, and selected the country about Independence as the location upon which was to be built the "City," the New Jerusalem.

The Center Stake of Zion was afterward dedicated, August 9th, for the gathering of Israel. Having thus selected the site, he returned to Kirtland.

In the spring following the Prophet made a second visit to Missouri, returning to Kirtland early in May, 1832. It was shortly after this latter visit that he first met his destined successor, Brigham Young, who, with his brother Joseph and Heber C. Kimball, had come to greet him. The visiting Elders found him engaged in manual labor—chopping wood in the forest. They were kindly welcomed, and Brigham rejoiced in receiving a sure testimony, by the spirit of prophecy, that Joseph was a true Prophet. They spent the evening in speaking of the gospel and the things of the Kingdom of God. Called upon to pray, Brigham spoke in tongues, the language which he used being pronounced the pure Adamic by the Prophet, who likewise said, "It is of God; and the time will come when Brother Brigham will preside over this Church." The latter remark, however, was not uttered in the visitors' hearing.

After a brief visit, Brigham and his brother Joseph went on foot to Canada to again engage in the ministry, the former making two trips thither. He was successful in preaching, baptizing, and in organizing branches; and in July, 1833, had his first experience as leader, conducting several families of converts to Kirtland. Thereafter, he went once more to Mendon, where he and his two daughters dwelt with his friend Heber C. Kimball, under whose roof-tree had been his home since the death of his wife. That fall they all removed to Kirtland, where he labored at his trade, preaching as opportunity offered.

## 3. WITH ZION'S CAMP.

While he was thus engaged in the East, the Saints in Missouri, now numbering over twelve hundred souls, were driven, in November, 1833, from their homes in Jackson County, by a murderous mob. Whipped, plundered and robbed of their possessions, they sought shelter across the river in the neighboring county of Clay.

It was in order to counsel with the Prophet, and to take some measures for the relief and restoration of the people thus harassed and exiled that Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight came to Kirtland early in the spring of the year 1834. The result of their visit was a further mission East by these and other Elders, for reasons set forth in the 101st and 103rd Sections of the Doctrine and Covenants; and finally the assembling of about two hundred men, with twenty wagons laden with supplies, to carry provisions to the Saints in Missouri, to reinforce and strengthen them, and if possible to influence the Governor to restore to them their rights. They were also to "redeem Zion," or in other words, seek to regain possession of the lands from which the Saints had been driven in Jackson County. This company of men were organized as a military body, led by the Prophet in person as general. Such was the expedition known as Zion's Camp. On the 5th of May one hundred men departed from Kirtland for Missouri, and the remainder, to the number of two hundred and five, were recruited on the way. Without being able to attain the ends for which it was organized, the little army was disbanded soon after arriving at its destination.

Brigham Young was one of the members of this now famous company. He acted as a captain of ten, and

with his good nature and faith often cheered his associates during the trials encountered on the way. He and his brother Joseph were the singers of the Camp, and often relieved and enlivened the tedium of the journey by their spirited songs. Before departing, the Prophet promised Brigham and his brother Joseph that if they would go with him, keeping his counsels, they should be led thither and back, and not a hair of their heads should be harmed. The covenant was made and as faithfully kept both returning unharmed. In July, Brigham returned to Kirtland, where he spent the remainder of the year in labor on the temple, in finishing the printing office and schoolroom, and assisting in the various industries which the Saints, ever busy, were establishing in Kirtland, the "land of Shinehah."

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#### 4. CHOSEN AN APOSTLE.

If it be conceded that Zion's Camp failed in accomplishing the ostensible purposes for which it was organized, it cannot be denied that it was a success in trying the mettle of its members. A journey of over two thousand miles on foot, in rain and mud, exposed to sickness and death, is sufficient to prove the temperament, courage and fortitude of any person who may engage in it. It may be possible that this was one of the objects the Prophet had in view, as might be inferred from the next important measure which he was inspired to adopt—the choosing of Twelve Apostles. This quorum is next in authority to the council of the First Presidency, which was composed of the following persons at that time: Joseph Smith, Jr., President; Sidney Rigdon, First Counselor; Fredrick G. Williams, Second Counselor.

On the 14th of February, 1835, the survivors of Zion's Camp were called together, and from their numbers were chosen, by the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon, Twelve Apostles, each of whom was blessed and set apart by the First Presidency. Brigham Young was selected as one of the Twelve, and according to seniority ranged third in the quorum; Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten came before him, and following him, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Parley P. Pratt, Luke Johnson, William Smith, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson.

Soon after the first and the second quorums of Seventies were likewise chosen from the surviving members of Zion's Camp.

Early in May the Twelve started upon their first mission to the Eastern States. The duties devolving upon them was to preach, baptize, advise the scattered Saints to gather westward, and to collect means for the purchase of lands in Missouri, and for the completion of the Kirtland Temple. Brigham Young, in addition, seems to have been called specially to preach to the Indians. "This," said the Prophet, "will open the doors to all the seed of Joseph." The mission was successfully performed; and he returned to spend the fall and winter in Kirtland, where, besides engaging in the ministry, he superintended the painting and finishing of the temple. A portion of time was spent in study, in the various schools established by the Prophet, for, as in after years he became the fulfiller of Joseph's prophecies, so now as ever he was a faithful believer in the benefits to be derived from following the Prophet's educational precepts:

"Seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning even by study and also by faith."

"It is impossible to be saved in ignorance."

"A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge."

"The glory of God is intelligence."

In spite of the neglect of his early teaching, he thus took advantage of his present opportunities until he became a proficient student in many of the useful branches of learning.

On the 27th day of March, 1836, the temple at Kirtland was dedicated. It was a day of great rejoicing, and thereafter many miraculous manifestations were here revealed, some of which are recorded in the 110th Section of the Doctrine and Covenants. In this holy place the Twelve some time afterward held the "solemn assembly," receiving their washings and anointings, the "washing of feet" being administered to Brigham by Joseph himself.

Having thus received his blessings, he was again called upon to perform a mission, this time to the Eastern States, traveling, during the summer of 1836, through New York, Vermont, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, returning in the fall to sustain the Prophet through the period of financial ruin and apostasy now threatening Kirtland like the dark clouds of a mighty storm.

##### 5. A PILLAR OF STRENGTH TO THE PROPHET.

A few words now concerning the Church in Missouri: Having dwelt in Clay County about three years in amity, the Saints were peacefully requested by a committee of leading citizens to "seek some other abiding place, where the manners, the habits and customs of the people would

be more consonant with their own." Some strange reasons were assigned for this entreaty: they had done nothing wrong, they were at peace with all, but "their religious tenets were so different from the present churches of the age;" they were eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs and even dialect were essentially different from the Missourians; they were non-slave-holders;" and they had a variety of other faults, amplified by their enemies in Jackson County, which true or false rendered them objectionable to the old residents; and so, for the sake of friendship, to be in a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay County, and to show gratitude to those who had befriended them, the Saints resolved, at a great sacrifice of property, to comply with the requisition and leave the county.

In September, 1836, they began moving to their new location in the Shoal Creek region, in Ray County, north-east of Clay, which was then a wilderness. In answer to their petitions, the legislature incorporated the Shoal Creek region and some adjoining lands in December of that year, and thus Caldwell County was created, in which large numbers of the Saints now settled, founding the city of Far West, in the winter of 1836-7.

And how were affairs progressing in Kirtland, meanwhile? A spirit of speculation enveloped the whole community, playing havoc with the faith of the Saints and of the leading Elders. All kinds of schemes were adopted to amass wealth, and as a result there followed in quick succession evil surmisings, fault-finding, disunion, dissensions, apostasy, and finally financial ruin. The disaffected members became bitterly hostile to the Prophet, as if he were the cause of the very evils which he struggled most to avoid, and which were brought

upon the people because they would not heed his counsels. In this serious apostasy which occurred, about one-half of the Apostles, one of the First Presidency and many leading Elders became disloyal to Joseph, declaring him to be a "fallen prophet."

On the 1st of June, 1873, while these radical changes were in progress, the Lord revealed to Joseph that something must be done for the salvation of the Church. That something was the sending of Elders to preach the gospel in foreign lands. Accordingly, Heber C. Kimball was chosen and set apart to preside over a mission to England, with Orson Hyde as his companion. Brigham Young's cousin Willard Richards,\* was called to accompany them. Heber was very desirous that Brigham should go also; his faithfulness entitled him to the distinction and honor of being among the first to proclaim the gospel in a foreign nation, but the Prophet answered:

"No; I want him to stay with me. I have something else for him to do."

The wisdom of this decision was subsequently made manifest.

Four other Elders joined those already named, and together they sailed from New York on the 1st day of July, 1873, to fill their mission. They were very successful, and when they departed for America on the 12th day of May, the following year, they had organized twenty-six branches of the Church, with a membership of about two thousand souls. The opening of this mission was

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\*Willard Richards, afterward one of the leading men of the Church, was the first of the renowned Richards family to join the Saints. In the fall of 1836 he came to Kirtland, staying at his cousin's home while he investigated the gospel. He was baptized on the last day of that year.

one of the most important events in the history of the Latter-day Saints.

But while the cause was thus prospering abroad, apostasy, persecution, confusion and mobocracy bore rule in Kirtland.

On one occasion a large number of leading Elders—among them several Apostles, and some of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon—held a council in the upper room of the temple, their object being to depose the Prophet and appoint David Whitmer President of the Church. Brigham Young, who had on other occasions frustrated their plans, and exposed their evil designs, was present also, and by a characteristic speech defeated their scheme. He says: "I rose up, and told them in a plain and forcible manner that Joseph was a Prophet; and I knew it; and that they might rail at and slander him as much as they pleased, they could not destroy the appointment of the Prophet of God; they could only destroy their own authority, cut the thread which bound them to the Prophet and to God and sink themselves to hell. Many were highly enraged at my decided opposition to their measures and Jacob Bump (an old pugilist) was so exasperated that he could not be still. Some of the brethren near put their hands on him and requested him to be quiet; but he writhed and twisted his arms and body saying 'how can I keep my hands off that man?' I told him if he thought it would give him any relief he might lay them on. The meeting was broken up without the apostates being able to unite on any decided measures of opposition. This was a crisis when earth and hell seemed leagued to overthrow the Prophet and Church of God. The knees of many of the strongest men in the Church faltered."

In this siege of darkness Brigham Young thus ever stood close by Joseph and with all the wisdom and power of his strong mind put forth his utmost energies to sustain his Prophet-leader and to unite the quorums of the Church, proclaiming publicly and privately that he knew by the power of the Holy Ghost that Joseph was a Prophet of the Most High God and that he had not transgressed or fallen as the apostates declared. It was now readily perceived why Joseph desired Brigham to remain with him.

"It was well for Joseph and for Mormonism in general that he decided to keep by him at that time the lion heart and intrepid soul of Brigham Young. Firm as a rock in his fealty to his chief, he combined sound judgment, keen perception, with courage unfaltering and sublime. Like lightnings were his intuitions, his decisions between right and wrong; like thunder his denunciations of what his soul conceived was error. A man for emergencies, far-sighted and inspirational; a master spirit and natural leader of men.

"Well might Joseph—brave almost to rashness—whose genius, though lofty and general in its scope, was pre-eminently spiritual, while Brigham's was pronouncedly practical, wish to have near him at such a time; just such a man. In that dark hour, the darkest perhaps that Mormonism has seen, when its very foundations seemed crumbling, when men supposed to be its pillars were weakening and falling away, joining hands secretly or openly with its enemies, the man Brigham never faltered, never failed in his allegiance to his leader, never ceased defending him against his accusers, and as boldly denouncing them betimes for falsehood, selfishness and treachery. His life was imperilled by his bold-

ness. He heeded not, but steadily held on his way, an example of valor and fidelity, a faithful friend, *sans peur et sans reproche.*\*

The persecution continuing became so violent that on the morning of December 22nd, 1837, threatened with assassination, Brigham was forced to flee, followed three weeks later on his way to Missouri by the Prophet and Elder Rigdon. Following a variety of occurrences, in which Brigham was constantly a staunch support, comfort, and pillar of strength to Joseph the persecuted leaders reached Far West about the middle of March, 1838.

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#### 6. THE FLIGHT TO ILLINOIS.

The Saints in Missouri seem not to have escaped entirely the disaffections of Kirtland. After arriving in Far West, the Prophet decided on pruning the Church of its dead branches, and on continuing the work of "setting in order." The presiding leaders had been suspended from office, and were subsequently excommunicated. At the April conference, in 1838, a reorganization of the Church in Far West took place, and Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young and David W. Patten, were chosen to preside over the Church in Missouri. Under their direction, many prominent men were severed from the organization, none being spared who would not speedily repent of their wrong-doings. The vacancies thus produced in the quorums, were filled by calling other faithful men to occupy the places of those who were deprived of membership.

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\*Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I, p 137.

During that spring and summer, a few months of comparative peace were enjoyed by the Saints and their leaders, pending which time there was a general migration of Mormons from Ohio to Missouri; but the tranquility was only a calm before the storm of outrage, robbery, murder, massacre and expulsion, which was soon to break over the people, with appalling fury.

There were now in this State about twelve thousand souls belonging to the Mormon Church, most of whom resided in Caldwell County. Many, however, dwelt in neighboring counties. Their troubles began in the early part of August, during the progress of the State election. A mob sought to prevent the Mormons from voting; then followed perplexity and agitation, and from the first outbreak in Gallatin, Daviess County, the difficulties spread until the people of the whole region thereabout were bent upon a general anti-Mormon uprising, incited by fiery speeches from priest, politician and apostate, and by articles in the local press. The result is too well known to need more than mere mention. The Mormons armed and tried to defend themselves; there was the Crooked River battle, then the calling out of the exterminating army of Governor Boggs, whose mission was to drive the Mormons out of Missouri; the horrors of Haun's Mill (Brigham's brother, Joseph, was among those who dwelt there); the disarming of the Mormons; the march upon and the surrender of Far West; the treaty of the traitor, Colonel Hinkle, with General Lucas; and the shootings, ravishings, and murders, inflicted by the army. A chapter of woes, indeed, such as has few parallels in history, ending with banishment from home.

Brigham thus refers to the scenes in Far West: "I saw Brothers Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P.

Pratt, Lyman Wight and George W. Robinson delivered up by Col. Hinkle to General Lucas, but expected they would have returned to the city that evening or the next morning, according to agreement, and the pledge of the sacred honor of the officers that they should be allowed to do so, but they did not so return. The next morning General Lucas demanded and took away the arms of the militia of Caldwell County, assuring them that they should be protected; but as soon as they obtained possession of the arms, they commenced their ravages by plundering the citizens of their bedding, clothing, money, wearing apparel, and everything of value they could lay their hands upon, and also attempted to violate the chastity of the women in the presence of their husbands and friends. The soldiers shot down our oxen, cows, hogs and fowls at our own doors taking part away and leaving the rest to rot in the street. They also turned their horses into our fields of corn."

He was present and heard the noted speech of General Clark, which gave the Mormons no hope for mercy; they were compelled to sign away their property at the point of the bayonet, to defray the expenses of the so called war; fifty-seven of the Mormon leaders, among whom was the Prophet Joseph, were betrayed as prisoners into the hands of the mob, and the whole community were ordered to flee immediately out of the State.

During these troubles Thomas B. Marsh, the President of the Twelve, apostatized; and David W. Patten was killed in the battle of Crooked River, October 25th, which left Brigham Young President of the Apostles. The First Presidency being in prison, it now devolved upon him to take charge of the Church, which he did, darning and directing the exodus of the Saints to

Illinois. It was in the midst of these onerous duties and trials that he exhibited qualities of mind disclosing his executive talent as a great leader. He called his leading brethren together to know how they regarded the work, whether they still knew it was of God, declaring that his faith remained unshaken. He proved his assertion by his works, and planned for others that they might do the same. He manifested earnest zeal and prompt activity in assisting the poor. Meetings were held in January and February, 1839, at which a committee was appointed to solicit aid for the destitute. In one of these gatherings he offered the following resolution, which was adopted, and the covenant was faithfully kept by all interested. Nearly four hundred persons besides the committee afterward signed a similar document:

"Resolved. That we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the general exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the State."

His activity in behalf of his afflicted brethren and friends gave offense to the mob, and once more he was forced to flee for his life. With his family he departed from Missouri in February, leaving his landed property and household goods in the hands of the mobbers. Proceeding to Illinois, he settled in the course of three weeks in Quincy. Here, on the 17th of March, he held a meeting with the Twelve and some of the Saints, the object being to devise means to assist the poor from Missouri. His record says:

"A letter was read to the people from the committee, on behalf of the Saints at Far West, who were left desti-

tute of the means to move. Though the brethren were left poor and almost stripped of everything, yet they manifested a spirit of willingness to do their utmost, offering to sell their hats, coats and shoes to accomplish the object. We broke bread and partook of the sacrament. At the close of the meeting \$50 was collected in money, and several teams were subscribed to go and bring the brethren. Among the subscribers was the widow of Warren Smith, whose husband and two sons had their brains blown out at the massacre at Haun's Mill. She sent her only team on this charitable mission."

In this meeting also he explained to the Saints the condition of the Church and the situation of the scattered members, advising the people to settle in companies so that they might be "fed by the shepherds; for without, the sheep would be scattered." Several of those who had proved unfaithful were excommunicated from the Church. Thus with his master spirit he aided in uniting the people, and in keeping them strong and firm in the faith, during their subjection to supremest trial. And their burdens were truly heavy. "That winter from ten to twelve thousand Latter-day Saints, men, women and children, still hounded and pursued by their merciless oppressors, fled from Missouri, leaving in places their bloody footprints on the snow of their frozen pathway. Crossing the ice of the Mississippi, they cast themselves, homeless, plundered and penniless, upon the hospitable shores of Illinois."\*

Brigham Young worked like a hero, in connection with his brethren Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, and members of the committee, to lighten the burdens of

these exiles. His big heart offered soothing sympathy to the bereaved, the widow and the fatherless, and his untiring exertions lessened the sorrows and afflictions of the destitute.

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#### 7. FULFILLING A PROPHECY.

On the 26th day of April, 1838, a revelation was given through Joseph the Prophet, commanding the Saints to re-commence laying the foundation of a temple in Far West, one year from that date. About this time also the Twelve were called to proclaim the gospel "across the great waters," and were to meet upon the temple grounds upon this occasion, to take formal leave of Far West prior to their departure abroad.

But, as we have learned, the Saints were expelled from Missouri. It was as much as an Apostle's life was worth to be seen in the region. The Missourians had sworn that at least this prophecy should not be fulfilled. Under these circumstances some of the Elders urged that the Lord would not require the Apostles to obey this command. Brigham Young thought otherwise, and laid great stress upon the fulfillment of the prophecy, as did the Twelve who were with him. He was now in charge, and was not willing that anything resting in his care should fail. He said: "I told them the Lord had spoken and it was our duty to obey, and leave the event in His hands, and He would protect us." Hence, notwithstanding the danger, he proceeded to the spot, with Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page and John Taylor. They held the conference, ordained Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith to the Apostleship, severed thirty-one persons from the Church, offered prayer, laid the

corner-stone of the temple as commanded, and took formal leave of the Saints, very early in the morning of the 26th of April, 1839, before the mob were awake.

Thus was a prophecy fulfilled which the mobbers had boasted should surely fail.

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#### 8. ACROSS THE WATER.

Continuing their labors, lands were purchased in Iowa, and in Hancock County, Illinois, upon which the Saints as they escaped from Missouri now settled. Brigham Young dwelt in Montrose, Lee County, Iowa, when the Prophet, after nearly six months' cruel imprisonment, arrived among the Saints in Quincy. Leaving that city May 9th, 1839, Joseph with the Twelve now founded Nauvoo, at a place then called Commerce, in Illinois. Here again the weak and poverty-stricken Saints gathered in the course of the summer.

While the site of the new city was beautifully located a part of the land sloping to the river was moist and miery, making it a fit place for the dreaded malaria. The physical condition of the exiled Saints made them an easy prey to disease, and it was not long after their arrival when fever and ague broke out in their midst, until nearly all were afflicted. There were sick in every house—few persons if any, were exempt. The Prophet himself did not escape, but he arose, however, and by the power of his faith in God stayed the pestilence. This incident of miraculous healing is referred to by Brigham Young, who says:

"Joseph arose from his bed, and the power of God rested upon him. He commenced in his own house and

door-yard, commanding the sick in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole; and they were healed according to his word. He then continued to travel from house to house, and from tent to tent, upon the bank of the river, healing the sick as he went, until he arrived at the upper stone house, where he crossed the river in a boat, accompanied by several of the quorum of the Twelve, and landed in Montrose. He walked into the cabin where I was lying sick, and commanded me in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole. I arose and was healed, and followed him and the brethren of the Twelve into the house of Elijah Fordham, who was supposed by his family and friends to be dying. Joseph stepped to his bedside, took him by the hand, and commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from his bed and be made whole. His voice was as the voice of God. Brother Fordham instantly leaped from his bed, called for his clothing and followed us into the street. We then went into the house of Joseph B. Nobles, who lay very sick, and he was healed in the same manner. And when, by the power of God granted unto him, Joseph had healed the sick, he re-crossed the river and returned to his home. This was a day never to be forgotten."

It was during the reign of such an epidemic that Brigham Young and seven of the Twelve left to fill the foreign mission to which they had been appointed in Missouri. Themselves weak, ailing, penniless, their families afflicted and almost destitute, they yet had faith enough in the cause to perform their duty. With all his children sick, and in the poorest of financial circumstances, Brigham left his home in Montrose, on the 14th of September, 1839, being carried to the house of Heber

C. Kimball, where, his strength failing him, he was compelled to remain, nursed by his wife, till the 18th. At this date he, with his friend Heber, whose circumstances were no better, resolutely departed for England, visiting Kirtland and other places on the way, preaching as they went.

Such indomitable courage had the men who were unwittingly training to conquer in even greater conflicts.

On the 19th of March, 1840, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith and Reuben Hedlock, sailed from New York, on the *Patrick Henry*, arriving in Liverpool April 6th, 1840—the tenth anniversary of the birthday of the Church. John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff Hyrum Clark and Theodore Turley had previously landed on January 11th. On the 14th day of April, after all the missionary Apostles had arrived a conference was held at Preston. At this gathering Brigham Young was chosen President of the Twelve, Willard Richards was ordained an Apostle, the plan of labor was discussed and decided upon and the Elders were appointed to their various mission fields.

With unwearying zeal Brigham superintended the organization of branches, established an emigration agency and a publishing house, and in other ways gave organic form to the great British Mission. He began the publication of the *Millennial Star* assisting Parley P. Pratt in editing the same; he was one of a committee to compile the Mormon hymn book, and to print the Book of Mormon, and he traveled extensively to obtain means for the publication of these works.

A letter concerning their labors, which he wrote to the Prophet Joseph soon after the conference, will illustrate his regard for the counsels of his leader—a respect

which he always in after time demanded as well as commanded from his own followers:

*To President Joseph Smith and Counselors.*

"DEAR BRETHREN:—You no doubt will have the perusal of this letter and the minutes of our conferences; they will give you an idea of what we are doing in this country.

"If you see anything in or about the whole affair that is not right, I ask in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you would make known unto us the mind of the Lord and His will concerning us.

"I believe that I am as willing to do the will of the Lord, and take counsel of my brethren, and be a servant of the Church, as ever I was in my life; but I can tell you I would like to be with my old friends; I like my new ones, but I cannot part with my old ones for them.

"Concerning the hymn book: when we arrived here we found the brethren had laid by their old hymn books, and they wanted new ones; for the Bible, religion and all is new to them.

"I trust that I will remain your friend through life and in eternity

"As ever,

"BRIGHAM YOUNG."

Besides the labors mentioned above, he unlocked the door of emigration, forwarding the first Saints from Europe to swell the numbers in the New World. The first company, consisting of forty souls, sailed in the ship *Britannia*, June 6th, 1840; and the second consisting of two hundred souls in the ship *North America*, September 8th of the same year. He traveled in the various districts holding conferences preaching the gospel to the people, visiting London and other important cities. Like his fellow-Apostles, he was greatly prospered, their success being nothing less than marvelous.

On the 20th day of April, 1841, he with five of his companions and a company of one hundred and thirty Saints, set sail for New York on board the ship *Rochester*. There were many friends at the dock to waft them farewell, and to bid them a pleasant voyage to their native land. Parley P. Pratt remained to preside over the mission.

Concerning the work performed while they were on this errand, Brigham's journal testifies:

"It was with a heart full of thanksgiving and gratitude to God, my Heavenly Father, that I reflected upon His dealings with me and my brethren of the Twelve during the past year of my life which was spent in England. It truly seems a miracle to look upon the contrast of our landing and departing from Liverpool. We landed in the spring of 1840, as strangers in a strange land, and penniless, but through the mercy of God we have gained many friends, established churches in almost every noted town and city of Great Britain, baptized between seven and eight thousand souls, printed 5,000 Books of Mormon, 3,000 hymn books, 2,500 volumes of the *Millennial Star* and 50,000 tracts, emigrated to Zion 1,000 souls, establishing a permanent shipping agency, which will be a great blessing to the Saints and have left sown in the hearts of many thousands the seeds of eternal life which shall bring forth fruit to the honor and glory of God; and yet we have lacked nothing to eat, drink or wear; in all these things I acknowledge the hand of God."

On the 1st day of July the Apostles arrived in Nauvoo and were cordially welcomed by the Prophet Joseph, who received the following revelation on the 9th:

"Dear and well-beloved Brother Brigham Young,

verily thus saith the Lord unto you my servant Brigham, it is no more required at your hand to leave your family as in times past, for your offering is acceptable to me;

"I have seen your labor and toil in journeymen for my name.

"I therefore command you to send my word abroad, and take special care of your family from this time, henceforth, and forever. Amen."

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#### 9. IN NAUVOO.—THE MARTYRDOM.

In Nauvoo the cause was prospering. The people in Iowa and Illinois treated the Saints with kindness and consideration, and counted them worthy citizens. The city was rapidly growing, and there sprang into existence beautiful homes, surrounded by lovely gardens. It promised to be the largest city in the State. The population increased steadily, and with it, the industries that come into being in the midst of a thrifty people. Once or twice their old enemies had made efforts to arrest the Prophet and some of the leaders to answer to imaginary charges. Some annoyance was thus caused, but Missourians obtained little sympathy, and just then met with no success. Peace and good-will seemed at length to rest in soothing comfort over the Saints.

In the winter of 1840-1, the legislature granted a most liberal charter to Nauvoo, and political parties sought the affiliation of the Mormons, since they held the balance of power. With the return of Brigham Young and the Apostles from England, the prosperity of the growing city was greatly accelerated. The University was organized as provided for in the charter, as was also

the Nauvoo Legion, of which latter military organization Joseph Smith was chosen the Lieutenant-General. The corner-stone of the temple was laid in April, 1841, and in May following, the Prophet called upon the people in the scattered Stakes in all the regions about to gather to Nauvoo, the object being to assist, by concentrating their energy and enterprise, in the erection of the temple and other public works. The result was that the Saints flocked into the city from all directions, and Nauvoo the Beautiful soon numbered twenty thousand souls. The fame of Joseph Smith had spread over both continents. He and his people were now at the height of their prosperity. The great newspapers sent representatives to write about the "modern military prophet" and his followers. At this time, in answer to newspaper appeals, the Articles of Faith were written, and the whole world was informed in other writings and interviews concerning the history and belief of the Saints.

The movement on the part of the Prophet of concentrating the Saints in Nauvoo was construed to mean that he desired to rule in politics. The result was a new organization, styled the Anti-Mormon Party, whose object is clearly expressed in its name. With this, fresh difficulties began for the people. The Prophet was arrested on old charges, and complaints of varicus kinds were lodged against the Saints and their leaders. Then came Bennett, with his vile slanders, coupled with the efforts of apostates to bring trouble upon the people and the Prophet.

Their nefarious exertions were like the faint rumblings of a coming storm.

Before this time the Prophet had hinted time and time again at his own death, seeming to realize that it

was not far off. Brigham, as ever before, continued to be his near friend. He had taken a prominent part in the affairs of Nauvoo since his return from England, meeting with the Prophet in important councils both religious and political so that by this means he became thoroughly educated in Joseph's policy and doctrines. Temporal affairs had not escaped his attention. He arranged once to aid Joseph in obtaining the necessities of life, when in poverty owing to his long continued imprisonment in Missouri, and on another occasion when the Missourians came to Illinois to arrest Joseph, raised hundreds of dollars to help in frustrating their plans. With Brigham Young at his side, whom his intuition seemed to have singled out as his successor, as the coming leader, Joseph felt secure.

The success which had attended the Saints in their now beloved Nauvoo, and the establishment of the gospel doctrines in America, must have given the Prophet comforting joy, but he felt that there was still a greater destiny for his people. They were not yet in their place of rest. He still had visions of the West, concerning which a remarkable prophecy is recorded that he uttered in Montrose, Lee County, Iowa, August 6th, 1842. It reads: "I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction, and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would apostatize; others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure and disease; and some would live to go and assist in making settlements and building cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains."

From this time on there was not much peace. A variety of charges were heaped upon the Prophet. He

was many times arrested, tried and set free, there being no cause for action against him. Lies were circulated by enemies in the Church and out, libeling his moral conduct and teachings. As the elections came on, the Mormons, voting for their friends, made still more enemies among their political opponents.

In the midst of this turmoil, in the winter of 1843-4, the Prophet Joseph Smith entered the political arena as candidate for the Presidency of the United States. His nomination was made January 29, 1844, and sustained at a State convention the following May. He then issued a platform setting forth his views on the policy and powers of the Federal Government, in which are found many excellent features.

It was to promulgate his views on government, and to secure his election that Brigham Young and several Apostles and Elders went to the Eastern States in April and May of 1844.

With this new step the Anti-Mormon element became more furious than ever; and in addition there arose schisms and apostasies in the Church. Apostates established the *Expositor*, a paper designed to attack the character of the Prophet and citizens of Nauvoo. The paper was destroyed after its first issue by the outraged citizens by order of the Mayor who was at that time the Prophet Joseph. Then followed outrage upon outrage by the mob who were now formed into a well-organized body. They crowded upon the city and at length Joseph declared Nauvoo under martial law and called upon the Legion to defend it. In a speech to that body he again foreshadowed his own death and pointed to the West as the resting place of his people.

Governor Ford now called out the army, transforming

the mob into a militia, and demanded that the Prophet and those engaged in the destruction of the *Expositor* come to Carthage to be tried for riot, also that the martial law at Nauvoo be abolished.

His orders were obeyed, as it was never the intention of the people to disobey constituted authority. The Prophet hesitated about giving himself up, and started, on the night of June 22nd, with his brother Hyrum, Willard Richards, John Taylor and a few others, for the Rocky Mountains. He was, however, intercepted by his friends, and induced to abandon his project, being chided with cowardice and with deserting his people. This was more than he could bear, and so he returned, saying: "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of no value to myself. We are going back to be slaughtered."

On the following day the Legion, by order, delivered up their arms, and the Prophet and his friends went to Carthage on the 24th day of June. On the 27th, notwithstanding the pledged protection of the State, Joseph and his brother Hyrum were martyred by a heartless mob, in Carthage jail.

It seems at this day strange that Brigham Young should have been sent away during this trying period. Providence doubtless designed it, for if he had been in Nauvoo when that message was sent for the return of the Prophet, he would have prevented the martyrdom. He loved Joseph too much to permit the counsels of sure death to prevail; rather he would have heaped contempt upon the heads of the unwise counselors, and instead provided Elders to aid the Prophet in his flight.

He said as much afterward: "If the Twelve had been here we would not have seen him given up; he

should not have been given up. He was in your midst but you did not know him; he has been taken away for the people are not worthy of him."

But this was not to be. The deed was done. Brigham and not Joseph was to be the founder of Utah. Heavy grief filled the hearts of the Saints, sorrow and deep mourning rested over the betrayed and stricken people.

The Twelve had been summoned home on the 20th of June before the Prophet's death, but it was not until the 6th of August, 1844, that they all arrived in Nauvoo.

Brigham Young and Orson Pratt were in New Hampshire when they first learned of the assassination. The sad news startled them, but like a flash came to Brigham Young the knowledge that the Twelve possessed the authority of the Priesthood, and were now the head of the Church. Joseph had previously given to him his endowments, bestowed upon him the keys of the Priesthood, and had instructed him and his brethren of the Twelve that whatever might befall, they now had the authority to go on and build up the Kingdom of God, and perform all the ordinances of the gospel. So it was the farthest from their thoughts to let the Church die, as its enemies doubtless hoped it would. The power and spirit of his calling rested upon Brigham Young in this supreme moment: "The first thing I thought of," said he, "was whether Joseph had taken the keys of the Kingdom with him from the earth. Brother Orson Pratt sat on my left; we were both leaning back in our chairs. Bringing my hand down on my knee, I said, the keys of the Kingdom are right here with the Church."

Who held these keys? was the question that was discussed in Nauvoo upon their arrival in that city, August 6th, 1844.

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God had taken Brigham Young through a school of experience, in the past twelve years, that made him equal to the stupendous burden that now rested upon his shoulders. The Saints must be comforted, held together, be persuaded that the authority and power to lead the Church is with the Twelve. There were besides the foreshadowing of their great future to be realized—the grand program of colonization to be enacted. The native abilities of the chief Apostle, enlarged and strengthened by training, made him equal to the task. He was the man for the place, ready at the appointed hour. Hardships, sufferings, trials, toil had been his portion, but these had tempered him mentally and physically to endurance. His mind was keen, far-reaching, profound; inherently he possessed attributes that make leaders, counselors, commanders: time and experience had developed these qualities.

He was now in his forty-fourth year, in the full vigor of manhood, strong in mind and body. He had shown himself great in faith, in powers of organization, executive ability and government; and his greatness was largely the fruit and product of the training which he had received in the gospel of Jesus Christ, as taught by the departed leader and Prophet.

## III. LEADER OF THE MODERN EXODUS.

## 1. BRIGHAM YOUNG SUCCEEDS JOSEPH SMITH.

Utah was founded by a colony of religious exiles who were driven thither, as the Puritans to America, by persecution. The migration of the Latter-day Saints to the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains has often been compared to the flight of the children of Israel, and so their pilgrimage may well be called The Modern Exodus.\* Brigham Young was not only the Moses of the Latter-day Israel, but also the Joshua, since he both led his followers to their land, and established them therein. Briefly let us outline the scenes of the journey and the acts of the leader.

As we have seen, several weeks passed after the martyrdom, before Brigham Young and the Twelve

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\* "The colonies which this wonderful state-founding community has sent to the West, since that tidal wave rose in the exodus from Nauvoo, will stand as the most marked example of organic colonization which has occurred in the growth and spread of the American nation."—Tullidge's History of Salt Lake City, p. 4.

"There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo. The exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters, to a fertile region designated by the Lord for His chosen people, the land of Canaan. The pilgrim fathers in flying to America came from a bigoted and a despotic people—a people making few pretensions to civil or religious liberty. It is from these same people who had fled from old-world persecutions that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, from their descendants and associates, that other of their descendants, who claimed the right to differ from them in opinion and practice, were now fleeing."—Bancroft's History of Utah. p. 217.

returned to Nauvoo. Pending their arrival there was great anxiety among certain Elders to have a leader, a trustee-in-trust, or a president appointed. Others wished a reorganization of the Church.

Sidney Rigdon, who as a counselor to the martyred Prophet, came all the way from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, whither he had gone to escape the turmoils of Nauvoo, to present his claims to the Presidency, to lay his plans to have the Church accept him as its "guardian." In conjunction with Wm. Marks, President of the Nauvoo Stake of Zion, he arranged for various meetings in which he laid his claims before the people, telling them of his calling, and the visions which he had received, indicating that he was the man to lead the Church, the man of whom the prophets had sung and written and over whom they had rejoiced.

The Apostles were arriving one by one, and there was a general desire to wait until they all should come before taking action, but this was not the wish of the aspirants to position. The first meeting was held on the 4th of August, in the Grove. Rigdon spoke, and by a strange circumstance chose for his text words which were very appropriate, as subsequent events proved, in showing the sentiments of the people towards him: "For my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."

The people felt like sheep without a shepherd, and that plotters were among them seeking to get control of the fold. There was doubting and uncertainty among the Saints. A special meeting for choosing a guardian was called for August 8th, notwithstanding leading Elders objected to such haste. These were the conditions that prevailed when President Young and the Twelve arrived

in Nauvoo on the 6th of August, 1844. Their coming created a feeling of relief among the Saints. The Apostles lost no time in learning the true state of affairs, and it was not long till it became apparent to the people that the chief had come. A council of the Priesthood was called the next day, in which Brigham asked Rigdon to present his claims to leadership. He did so, and was answered by the President in such a way that no doubt was left in the minds of those who heard as to who had the authority. Said Brigham: "Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come. How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests."

The advertised public meeting was held thereafter on the 8th. It was one of the most important assemblies the Saints have ever attended. Rigdon occupied one hour and a half, followed by President Young. The words of the former, notwithstanding his natural eloquence, fell upon cold ears. "The Lord hath not chosen you," could be read in the faces of the multitude. The people turned instinctively to Brigham Young; it was the first time they had heard him since his return, and the effect was electrical. His voice, appearance, and the wisdom and clearness with which he pointed out the order of the Priesthood, all indicated the man whom God had selected to guide his Israel. Rigdon was repudiated, and the congregation said one to another: The spirit of Joseph rests upon Brigham."

"A more wonderful and miraculous event than was

wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of," writes George Q. Cannon. "The Lord gave his people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them.

\* \* \* On that occasion President Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the Scriptures as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence, seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph had been left for Brigham Young. \* \* \*

In his remarks to the congregation, he alluded to the fact that instead of himself and brethren finding them mourning the death of their great leader, as Israel did the departure of Moses, they found them holding meetings to chose his successor. But if they wished to obtain the mind and will of the Lord concerning this subject, why did they not meet according to the order, and have a general assembly of the several quorums, which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church, a tribunal from whose decision there was no appeal? In a moment the few words he spoke upon this subject threw a flood of light upon it. The Elders remembered then the proper order. He desired to see an assembly of the quorums at 2 o'clock that afternoon, every quorum in its place and order, and a general meeting also of the members."

This was witnessed in the afternoon when the multitude again met. President Young addressed the congregation; his commanding voice sounded over the vast assembly: "Attention all." He showed them their situation. The Twelve were appointed by the finger of God; they stand next to the Prophet and are as the First Presidency: if any man is appointed to lead the Church the Twelve must ordain him. Any other course would

scatter the Saints. "I have spared no pains to learn my lessons of the kingdom in this world and in the eternal worlds; and if it were not so I could go and live in peace; but for the gospel and for your sakes I shall stand in my place. \* \* \* Does this Church want it as God organized it? or do you want to clip the power of the Priesthood and let those who have the keys of the Priesthood go and build up the kingdom in all the world, wherever the people will hear them? If there is a spokesman, if he is a king and priest, let him go and build up a kingdom to himself; that is his right and it is the right of many here, but the Twelve are at the head of it. \* \* \* If ten thousand men rise up and say they have the Prophet Joseph Smith's shoes, I know they are imposters. \* \* \* I tell you in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation, for all the world; do not put a thread between the Priesthood and God. \* \* \* We have a head, and that head is the Apostleship, the spirit and power of Joseph, and we can now begin to see the necessity of that Apostleship. \* \* \* The Twelve can manage the affairs of the Church and direct all things aright." And so he continued, pointing out the order of succession and authority, the import of the revelations and the laws of the Church which were forgotten by the people, or hidden from them in the excitement of the hour.

Always bright and gifted, Brigham was on this, as on other great occasions, most uncommonly endowed with power. It required a strong mind to hold the people,

but his determination was equal to the occasion. He was not a man of many smooth words, but what he said was full of force and meaning. That afternoon, Sidney Rigdon was like a child in the presence of a wise man; he said not a word.

Before the deciding vote was taken, Brigham said, among other things: "Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world. \* \* \* I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for himself. \* \* \* I want every man before he enters into a covenant to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the Priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so."

The greatest number said that they would so sustain the authorities; Brigham Young and the Twelve were upheld, and the Church was saved. The enemies of the Saints were soon impressed with the fact that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Mormonism promised to grow with greater force than ever before. A great character had arisen to fill the place of the Prophet. Upon the foundation laid a kingdom was to be built whose equal "there never was in the world."

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## 2. BOGUS BRIGHAM.

But while this was the case, the Anti-Mormons also seemed bent upon carrying out their plans which were to drive the Saints away, harass or utterly destroy them. They were not satisfied with having martyred the Prophet

and Patriarch. They seemingly wished to treat all the leaders in a like manner and were determined to scatter the people.

The forced exodus to the West was near at hand. Before the Saints should forsake their homes once more, they wished to enjoy the sacred blessings of the temple, and were therefore counseled to bend all their energies upon completing the edifice. And this they did, often amidst sore persecutions from their enemies. The leaders were in constant danger of being ensnared, and were frequently compelled to go into hiding to avoid arrest, emerging from concealment when danger was temporarily over.

It was under such circumstances that the "Bogus Brigham" arrest occurred. The President, the Twelve and other Elders were in the temple when a marshal and his posse came to the door to arrest Brigham Young. William Miller, who much resembled him, threw on a cloak at the request of Brigham and went down to the entrance of the building, mutely surrendering to the elated officers. People who appreciated the joke, stood about the carriage weeping and questioning, but Miller made no reply and soon the vehicle containing the prize was on the way to Carthage, where the prisoner was to be tried on some fabricated charge, or perhaps treated to powder and ball as was Joseph and Hyrum. The sequel to the rich *ruse* is thus told by President Young himself:

"When they arrived within two or three miles of Carthage, the marshal, with his posse, stopped. They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, and, like a tribe of Indians going to battle, or as if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shouting, exclaimed, 'We've got him; we've got him; we've got him.'

"When they reached Carthage, the marshal took the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same time telling those around him that he had got him. Brother Miller remained in the room until they bade him come to supper. While there parties came in, one after the other, and asked for Brigham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. So it continued, until an apostate Mormon, by the name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, came in, sat down and asked the landlord where Brigham was."

"That is Mr. Young," said the landlord, pointing across the table to Brother Miller.

"Where? I can't see any one that looks like Brigham," Thatcher replied.

"The landlord told him it was that fleshy man eating.

"Oh, h—l" exclaimed Thatcher, "that's not Brigham; that's Wm. Miller, one of my old neighbors."

"Upon hearing this the landlord went, and tapping the sheriff on the shoulder, took him a few steps to one side, and said:

"You have made a mistake. That is not Brigham Young. It is Wm. Miller, of Nauvoo."

"The marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed: 'Good heavens, and he passed for Brigham.' He then took Brother Miller into a room, and turning to him, said: 'What in h—l is the reason you did not tell me your name?'

"You have not asked me my name," Brother Miller replied.

"Well what is your name?" said the sheriff, with another oath.

"My name is William Miller."

"I thought your name was Brigham Young. Do you say this for a fact?"

"Certainly I do," returned Brother Miller.

"Then," said the marshal, "why did you not tell me that before?"

"I was under no obligation to tell you," replied Miller.

"The marshal in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by Brother Miller, who walked off in company with Lawyer Edmonds, Sheriff Backenstos and others, who took him across lots to a place of safety; and this is the real birth of the story of 'Bogus Brigham,' as far as I can recollect."

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### 3. PERSECUTIONS AND ADVICE.

Governor Ford came to Nauvoo, on the 27th of September, 1844, ostensibly to bring the murderers of the Prophet Joseph to justice, for what else could he do, seeing that he had plighted the protection of the State?

On this same day Brigham Young received his commission as Lieutenant-General of the Nauvoo Legion. On the 28th, the Legion was reviewed before the Governor, some of the members coming without arms evidently to remind him of the disarmament, which had taken place before the martyrdom.

Soon after this time, Lieutenant-General Young received an order from the Governor directing him to keep a sufficient force of the Legion on hand to guard the court, and protect it from evil persons who might wish to oppose the prosecution of the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum. The instructions accompanying this

order were very strange. The Lieutenant-General was cautioned that the order was "one of great delicacy to execute." "If it should be the means of getting up a civil war in Hancock, I do not know how much force I could bring to the aid of the government," continues His Excellency. Calling the Legion to service might bring war between the factions, and hence, the order was more in the shape of "a permission to use the Legion, than a compulsory command."

This affair is significant in that it shows that the Mormons were legally in the right. But with the Governor, it was not policy to do right, if the Mormons should gain anything thereby and their enemies be placed within the law. Brigham Young and the Legion could have protected the Mormons, (this could also have been done by Joseph and the Legion) and besides maintained the Governor in case of a civil war; but this would have placed Illinois under the domination of the Mormons which His Excellency would under no consideration consent to, hence his remark that his order was one of "great delicacy to execute." The whole thing really meant nothing, it was a sham just as the trial of the Prophet's murderers proved to be.

It was clearly apparent that no law could touch the Mormons, and so their enemies adopted the policy of out-lawing them. In January, 1845, the Legislature, yielding to the popular clamor, repealed the charter of the City of Nauvoo. (The Saints in April of this year changed the name to The City of Joseph, in honor of the Prophet.) There was now no protection whatever for the Mormons. On the 8th of April, 1845, Governor Ford wrote to President Young advising him to "get off by yourselves" where "you may enjoy peace." He

counseled him likewise in confidence to migrate with his people to California.

It was unnecessary that the Governor should so advise. The course to be pursued in seeking a resting spot, a place of refuge in the West, beyond the Rocky Mountains, had already been decided upon by Brigham Young, and preparations to carry the plan into effect had begun. The Saints could and did rely on him as one who never knowingly deviated from a fixed purpose. Believing Joseph Smith to be inspired, he followed in his footsteps, and built upon the foundation laid by him. Far be it from him to fail in the execution of any plan which had been outlined by the Prophet, either in temporal or spiritual things. "As a designer Joseph Smith was without a peer among his fellows; as an executor Brigham Young without a parallel. Each was the other's complement, and neither career alone, in the eternal fitness of things would have been complete\*."

But the advice was offered nevertheless, and Governor Ford was not alone in giving it, as Senator Douglass and others had expressed similar views.

The advice would soon be heeded. Before parting from their homes the Saints through a committee of which Brigham Young was the chairman, memorialized the President of the United States, and also all the Governors of the country, asking for aid and sympathy in their exile, and also setting forth the wrongs which they had endured in Missouri and Illinois. This action acquainted the nation with the grievances of the afflicted people, but their appeals went unheeded, and unanswered, too, save in a single instance.

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\*Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I., p. 239.

## 4. COMMANDED TO LEAVE THE STATE.

In May, 1845, a faint effort was made to bring the murderers of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum to justice, but after a trial, they were "honorably acquitted," —a fair criterion of the sentiments entertained by the citizens and the courts against the Mormons, and a sample of the "justice" of those days.

The acquittal of the assassins so emboldened the mob element, that no sooner was it generally known than fresh outrages, burnings and persecutions, were inflicted upon the defenseless Saints. Their houses were fired and the people driven from place to place, until, fearing massacre, the Saints in the outlying settlements fled to Nauvoo for protection. The whole State was in great excitement.

It was at this juncture that Governor Ford called out the State militia to restore order. General Hardin was sent to Hancock County October 1st, 1845, for this purpose; and, having proclaimed peace to the people and commanded the mob to obey authority, he next held a conference with the Mormon leaders in which he asked them to leave the State, the movement to begin in the spring. The requisition was made by representatives from nine counties of the State assembled at Carthage. Brigham Young and his people agreed to the demand, knowing full well that there was no alternative between exodus and extermination by massacre. General Hardin wished to know what guarantee would be given that the Mormons would fulfill their part of the agreement, to which President Young replied with cutting strictness: "You have our all as a guarantee; what more can we give beyond the guarantee of our names?" But the

General afterward, in writing, requested a written statement setting forth the facts and intentions stated to him by the Mormons, in order that he might lay them before the Governor and the people of the State.

In reply President Young and the Council at Nauvoo sent them a copy of the propositions previously submitted to the committee from Quincy, in answer to a similar request. They added that preparations to remove were made previous to the recent disturbances. They were fully determined to move in the spring, independent of the contingency of selling their property. The first company would comprise from five to six thousand souls. Others would follow, and all were determined to remove to some distant point where they should neither infringe nor be infringed upon. They requested the good citizens to help them sell their property which they would not sacrifice, give away, or suffer to be illegally wrested from them, whether they found purchasers or not. Concluding they said: "If these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that can not be mistaken—*we will leave them!*"

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##### 5. THE EXODUS.

As rapidly as possible preparations were made to move westward, pursuant to the agreement made. Land was disposed of, leased or exchanged for animals and wagons; and such household property as could not be taken, was sold, or left for sale in the care of agents.

The Saints had made great efforts to complete the Temple, so that they might enjoy its holy ordinances

before setting out upon their journey. It was so far completed in October, 1845, that a three days' conference was held in it; and during December of that year and the following January, Brigham Young and other of the Apostles administered to many hundreds of the people therein. The holy building, had been all but completed in the midst of renewed persecution, and the administering of the ordinances of endowment took place while preparations were being made to evacuate the city.

The exodus began on the 4th of February, 1846, Charles Shumway being the first person to cross the river on his way west. The ferries over the Mississippi were afterward kept busy night and day, until the river froze over, when crossing was continued on the ice. The first camp was on Sugar Creek, nine miles west into Iowa. There the advance companies pitched their tents, until the leaders and the remainder should arrive. Brigham Young, who, with the Twelve, directed all the movements, crossed over and arrived at the camp on the 15th. It was now bitterly cold. Already great suffering had been endured. The poor exiles, with their sick families, camped in the snow, scraping it from the ground to make their beds, or slept in the cold wagons almost in sight of their comfortable homes from which they had been driven. Snow, storm, savages, and the untrodden wilderness lay before them.

Well might it be said that "there is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo."

The first night out "nine wives became mothers; nine children were born in tents and wagons in that wintry camp. How these tender babes, these sick and delicate women were cared for under such conditions, is left to the imagination of the sensitive reader. How

these Mormon exiles, outcasts of civilization, carrying their aged, infirm and helpless across the desolate plains and prairies, were tracked and trailed thereafter by the nameless graves of their dead, is a tale which, though often attempted, has never been and never will be fully told."\*

It was under such circumstances that the labor of temporary organization, by Brigham Young, began at Sugar Creek. Getting into a wagon, his voice rang out over the congregation: "Attention, the whole Camp of Israel!" There stood the law-giver and commander, kind and great in the midst of suffering: undaunted, self-possessed in affliction's sorest trial. Then followed practical, plain instructions as to the order and arrangement of the camp; with a tone of authority, tempered with love and firmness, he told the people that, "we will have no laws we cannot keep, but we will have order in the camp. If any want to live in peace when we have left this place, they must toe the mark."

The companies now consisted of about four hundred wagons, but there were not enough teams to make a rapid journey. After having petitioned the Governor of Iowa for protection while passing through his Territory, President Young and the Apostles made a farewell visit to Nauvoo, and while there held a parting service in the Temple, giving needed counsel to the remnant of the Saints who were to remain a short season, but whose destiny it was to suffer even more than their comrades who had gone before. Returning to the Camp on Sugar Creek, President Young gave orders to advance on the 1st day of March, and by noon of that day the Cam

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\*Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I. p. 249.

began to move. As a parting thought, he wrote in his diary: "Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, mills, bridges, public halls, magnificent Temple, and other public improvements, we leave as a monument of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose, and integrity of heart, as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the Constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty."

That day the Camp traveled five miles. Then from day to day the weary march was slowly continued in mud, snow and rain. The exiled people, strengthened by a higher Power, pressed on in search of a new home, in some unknown place among the mountains, where mobs could not molest.

Shoal Creek, in the Chariton River region, was reached on the 27th of March. In this place the Camps were delayed about three weeks by freshets, and in the mean time a more complete organization was effected. Companies of "hundreds," "fifties," and "tens" were formed, and captains appointed over them. The journey was thereafter continued, and at various points in Iowa, between the two great rivers, temporary settlements were made, chief among which were Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, where farming operations were engaged in for the benefit of those who should follow after.

About June 15th, Brigham Young, with the vanguard of the migrating trains, reached the Missouri, followed by the main body in July. They stopped at a place on the east side of the river, which they named Kanesville, now known as Council Bluffs. Soon a part crossed to the west side of the river pitching their tents upon the Indian lands. The Saints in both places were heartily

welcomed by the Pottawatomie and the Omaha Indians. Later in the season, in what is now Florence, was founded the celebrated Winter Quarters, with a population of about four thousand souls.

It was the intention of the Mormon leader to hasten onward that summer and fall with a band of pioneers to explore the Rocky Mountains. The muster for volunteers, for this purpose, was in progress at Mount Pisgah, under the direction of Apostle Woodruff who had recently returned from England, when the Mormon nation of twelve thousand souls, thus stretching across the whole of Iowa, was startled by a call for volunteers—for a Mormon battalion—to do battle for their country against Mexico.

This event changed the plans, and the people were compelled to remain in Winter Quarters, and in the other settlements in Iowa, over winter.

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#### 6. THE PRESIDENT'S WISDOM AND WATCHCARE.

The magnitude of an undertaking of thus transplanting a whole people, many of whom were without even the common necessities of life, from prosperous homes to a wilderness, may better be imagined than described. Numbers of these people, upon beginning their journey, had only enough supplies for themselves and their animals, for a few days. Brigham Young and the Twelve started with provisions enough for a year, but in a few weeks this had all been distributed to the needy and the suffering in the Camp. There were many things to hinder the progress of the train in their onward course. Amidst cold, exposure, sickness, hunger, and their attendant

hardships, it is little wonder that dissatisfaction at times broke out, that some persons in the camp became unmanageable. It is a wonder, however, that so little disunion existed, that such satisfaction prevailed. The people, of course, had their faults and weaknesses, but it must be remembered they were surrounded by circumstances where these were sure to be made apparent.

Upon Brigham Young rested the whole responsibility of providing, adjusting, organizing and planning. His annoyances, perplexities and anxieties were severe, and, indeed, wore so heavily upon him that in one public meeting he is said to have remarked that he could scarcely keep from lying down and sleeping to await the resurrection.

But such feelings were not long at a time entertained by him. His jovial spirit soon returned to kindle new life in his followers, and his wise counsels and firm demeanor, as well as his just decisions, engendered peace and harmony among them.

He understood fully human nature, and realized that work is necessary to contentment and happiness. Labor was therefore provided. During the stay in Winter Quarters, a grist mill was erected which the Saints scarcely expected would be of much benefit to them, but it gave the men employment, and kept them from the worst of all evils, idleness. In addition to building the mill and digging the race, and providing shelter for their families, a council house was erected. Willow baskets, washboards and half-bushel measures, were extensively manufactured. The women, besides attending to their household duties, were occupied in spinning, knitting, and making leggings from skins of animals. Some of the men, in the various camps, took work on farms, split

rails, cleared timber, fenced land, and husked corn. The whole community were thus engaged in creating resources on the way, and were as happy as they were busy. The President counseled, directed, and with uncommon care watched over the migrating thousands. He superintended the work with a zeal and watch-care unequalled. Says the camp journalist: "He sleeps with one eye open and one foot out of bed, and when anything is wanted, he is on hand." His care "was extended," says Tullidge, "to every family, every soul; even the very animals had the master friend near to ease and succor them.. A thousand anecdotes could be told of that journey to illustrate this. When traveling, or in camp, he was ever looking after the welfare of all. No poor horse or ox even had a tight collar or a bow too small but his eye would see it. Many times did he get out of his vehicle and see that some suffering animal was relieved."\*

Understanding the good effect that a happy mind has on the body, he was not averse to amusements, and frequently permitted dancing, and other recreation to a proper extent, since such diversion tended to lighten present toils, and to assuage the troubles of the past—to make the most of joy and the least of sorrow. The camp was thus made measurably free from useless repining. "We were happy and contented," says John Taylor, "and the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon, reverberating through the woods." They had a brass band along, Captain Pitt's, that frequently cheered the drooping spirit by strains of music.

"On the night of March 1st, when the first camp was pitched beyond Sugar Creek, after prayer they held

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\*Tullidge's History of Salt Lake City, p. 21.

a dance, and as the men of Iowa looked on they wondered how these homeless outcasts from Christian civilization could thus praise and make merry in view of their near abandoning of themselves to the mercies of savages and wild beasts."\* In the song and the dance the Saints praised the Lord. When the night was fine, and supper, which consisted of the most primitive fare, was over, some of the men would clear away the snow, while others bore logs to the camp-fires in anticipation of the jubilee of the evening. Soon, in a sheltered place, the blazing fires would roar, and fifty couples, old and young, would join, in the merriest spirit, to the music of the band or the rival revelry of the solitary fiddle. As they journeyed along, too, strangers constantly visited their camps, and great was their wonderment to see the order, unity and good feeling that prevailed in the midst of the people. By the camp fires they would linger, listening to the music of the song; and they fain had taken part in the merriment had not those scenes been as sacred worship in the exodus of a God-fearing people.†

"After the completion of the council house, (in Winter Quarters) arrangements were made for a number of dancing parties and festivals to be held in it, and President Young proposed to show them how to go forth in the dance in a manner acceptable before the Lord. He did so by offering up prayer to God at the opening and closing of the exercises and permitting only modest deportment and decorum throughout.‡

That winter his wisdom in dealing with the Indians

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\*Bancroft's History of Utah, p. 220.

†Tullide's History of Salt Lake City, p. 21.

‡Geo. Q. Cannon, in *Juvenile Instructor*.

was revealed. Living on Indian lands, and being frequently annoyed by the red men who stole their cattle, a conflict easily could have been provoked; but Brigham took great pains to instruct the people as to the just and proper manner of treating the Indians. The result was a good feeling between the savages and the Mormons. His policy towards the Indians, of feeding instead of fighting them, was then adopted, and to his honor ever after maintained.

The Saints' spiritual welfare, the moving motive of their exodus, was not neglected, frequent meetings being held, in which the people were stirred to diligence in religious duties. Thus the temporal and the spiritual joined hands; the wanderers both watched and prayed; religious zeal had a companion in common sense,—all combining to keep the Mormon pilgrims cheerful and healthy in mind. With the body and the intellect feasted on pleasant thoughts and themes, peace and harmony prevailed in the "Camps of Israel."

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#### 7. THE MORMON BATTALION.

That there should be consternation in camp at Mt. Pisgah, on the 26th of June, 1846, when Captain J. Allen made his call for volunteers, is not surprising; the people were by this time so accustomed to persecution, that it was little wonder they thought the United States army was upon them, when they heard of the officer's arrival.

The Brannan compact, then probably known at Mt. Pisgah, was one cause that tended to confirm this idea: About the time that the Saints left Nauvoo, Elder Samuel Brannan sailed with two hundred and thirty-five Mor-

mons, on the ship *Brooklyn*, for California, intending to join those who left Nauvoo somewhere on the Pacific Coast. Before sailing from New York, Brannan entered into a peculiar agreement with one A. G. Benson, who represented a company of Washington sharpers, requiring the Mormons to transfer to said Benson & Company the odd numbers of all the lands and town lots which they might acquire in the country where they should settle—for be it known, the Saints were leaving the United States to pass into the dominions of Mexico, which then extended over the whole West to the Pacific Ocean. Brannan was prevailed upon to sign such an agreement, and he forwarded it to the Mormon leaders for their approval and signatures, with the information that if they did not sign the document, President Polk would issue a proclamation setting forth that it was the intention of the Mormons to take sides with either Mexico or Great Britain, which latter country then claimed Oregon, in the impending struggle against the United States, intercept them, and order them to be disarmed and dispersed. But if they did sign, then they were to be allowed to proceed unmolested. When this strange document came to President Young, he called a council of the Twelve, (Sugar Creek, Feb. 17, 1846,) resulting in the emphatic rejection of the proposition, without even a reply. "We concluded that our trust is in God, and we look to Him for protection," said they, and, added President Young, "This was a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions and compel them to submit to it by threats of Federal bayonets."

But is the threat to be carried out? was the question that naturally arose in the minds of the people when the officer appeared in Mount Pisgah.

His appearance, however, was not due to the Bran-nan letter, but resulted from a very different cause. War broke out between our country and Mexico, in April, 1846. Just previous to this time, and shortly after the Saints left Nauvoo, Brigham Young had sent Elder Jesse C. Little to Washington to try to obtain aid, if possible, from the nation, to assist them in their march. It was thought that they might be permitted to freight government provisions and stores to Oregon and other Pacific Coast points. Elder Little succeeded to such an extent that assistance was about to be granted, when the breaking out of the war with Mexico determined President Polk upon the design of hurriedly taking possession of California, and of using the migrating Mormons for this purpose. This project was matured and about to be carried out, when it was changed through the influence of Senator Thomas Benton, an old Missouri enemy of the Mormons. Another plan was then adopted, which involved a call for five hundred Mormon volunteers to form a part of the force which was to invade New Mexico and California, under General Kearney, the commander of the army of the West, then at Santa Fe. When the Commander received the President's order, he detailed Captain Allen to proceed to the camps of the Saints, muster the battalion, and march them to Fort Leavenworth there to be armed and prepared for service, then to follow the trail of General Kearney and the main army.

Thus originated the call for the Mormon Battalion. To this day there is a difference of opinion as to whether it was meant for the good, or for the destruction of the Mormons. It is plainly evident that the Saints in that day viewed it in the latter light. The leaders

looked upon it as a test of the loyalty of the Mormons to their country; and so, when the recruiting officer came to President Young, at Council Bluffs, and laid his errand before him, (for it was a question of too much importance to be considered by the authorities at Mount Pisgah, with a view to giving an answer, or even to expressing an opinion, until the chief Apostle was consulted,) he promptly replied: "You shall have your battalion, Captain Allen, and if there are not young men enough, we will take the old men, and if they are not enough, we will take the women."

Let us remember the circumstances that surrounded this people; the story of their recent treatment from the citizens and the government of Illinois; the scenes of Missouri, and then it can be more fully understood with what nobility of mind the Mormons responded to the call of their country—what patriotism inspired them. Taking up the key words of their leader, "You shall have your battalion," leading Elders cheerfully responded to the call. Men were sent to all the camps to summon to headquarters, the old men and the boys to supply the place of the men—the strength of the people—who were enlisted in the battalion. When all were gathered in Council Bluffs, President Young, at a meeting in the bowery, July 15th, 1846, delivered to the congregation an earnest speech, in which he told his people "not to mention families today; we want to conform to the requisition made upon us, and we will do nothing else until we accomplish this thing. If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our consciences, we must raise the battalion. I say, it is right; and who cares for sacrificing our comfort for a few years? \* \* \* I want to say to

every man, the Constitution of the United States, as framed by our fathers, was dictated, was revealed, was put into their hearts by the Almighty, who sits enthroned in the midst of the heavens; although unknown to them it was dictated by the revelations of Jesus Christ, and I tell you, in the name of Jesus Christ, it is as good as ever I could ask for. I say unto you, magnify the laws. There is no law in the United States, or in the constitution, but I am ready to make honorable."

Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who was present at the time of the muster, says of the event: "A central mass meeting for council, some harangues at the remotely scattered camps, an American flag brought out from the store-house of things rescued and hoisted to the top of a tree mast, and in three days the force was reported, mustered, organized and ready to march."

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\*There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors or boweries, as they called them, of poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, where the ground had been trodden firm and hard by the worshippers, was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel. If anything told that the Mormons had been bred to other lives it was the appearance of the women as they assembled here. Before their flight they had sold their watches and trinkets as the most available recourse for raising ready money; and hence, like their partners, who wore waistcoats cut with useless watch pockets, they, although their ears were pierced and bore the marks of rejected pendants, were without ear-rings, chains or brooches. Except such ornaments, however, they lacked nothing most becoming the attire of decorous maidens. The neatly darned white stockings, and clean white petticoat, the clear-starched collar and chemisette, the something faded, only because too well washed, lawn or gingham gown, that fitted modestly to the waist of its pretty wearer—these, if any of them spoke of poverty, spoke of a poverty that had known better days. With the rest attended the Elders of the Church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the High Council, with their wives and children. They, the bravest and most trouble-worn, seemed the

There was a farewell ball in the bowery\* that afternoon, in which the hours were merrily chased away, then the parting; and on the 16th the advance companies of that famous band of five hundred and forty-nine souls, began their journey for Fort Leavenworth. Their exploits on the long march, their discoveries in California, and their early settlement in Utah, are matters of history.

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#### 8. WITH THE PIONEERS.

Space does not permit more than mere reference to the troubles of the remnant at Nauvoo who, in the fall of 1846, were driven from their homes, at the point of the bayonet, after an unsuccessful effort at defending themselves. Their fate was even worse than that of their brethren and sisters who preceded them into the wilderness. They numbered about six hundred and forty persons. "Dreadful, indeed," says Col. Thomas L. Kane,

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most anxious of any to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dance in a double cotillion was the signal which bade the festivity to commence.

Light hearts, lithe figures, and light feet had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky-line of the Omaha hills. Silence was then called, and a well-cultivated mezzo soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartette accompaniment, a little song, the notes of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated efforts to obtain since—a version of the text touching to all earthly wanderers :

"By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept;  
We wept when we remembered Zion."

There was danger of some expression of feeling when the song was over for it had begun to draw tears, but, breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an Elder asked the blessings of heaven on all who, with purity of heart and brotherhood of spirit, had mingled in that society, and then all dispersed, hastening to cover from the falling dew.—THOMAS L. KANE.

"was the suffering of these forsaken beings, bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on. They were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to satisfy the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow."

We have already touched, in a few words, upon the condition of the Saints who remained, during the winter of 1846-7 in Winter Quarters and in Iowa. It was, of course, President Young's intention to have them press west, as early as possible in the spring. He received "The word and will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West," on the 14th day of January, 1847; from this revelation, the first through him that was ever written, we may form a conception of the character of the preparations that were to be made for the continued exodus. It is to be found in the 136th section of the book of Doctrine and Covenants, and we quote from the 2nd verse to the 33d, inclusive:

Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles;

And this shall be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing, and other necessities for the journey that they can.

When the companies are organized, let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season, and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion;

And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your houses, and in your families.

Let my servants Ezra T. Benson and Erastus Snow organize a company;

And let my servants Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff organize a company.

Also, let my servants Amasa Lyman and George A. Smith organize a company;

And appoint presidents and captains of hundreds, and of fifties, and of tens,

And let my servants that have been appointed go and

teach this my will to the Saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace.

Go thy way and do as I have told you, and fear not thine enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work.

Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time,

And if any man shall seek to build up himself, and seeketh not my counsel he shall have no power, and his folly shall be made manifest.

Seek ye and keep all your pledges one with another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.

Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and my arm is stretched out in the last days to save my people Israel.

Cease to contend one with another, cease to speak evil one of another.

Cease drunkenness, and let your words tend to edifying one another.

If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt return that which thou hast borrowed; and if thou canst not repay, then go straightway and tell thy neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor hast lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands, and I will do my pleasure with them.

My people must be tried in all things, that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion, and he that will not bear chastisement, is not worthy of my kingdom.

Let him that is ignorant learn wisdom by humbling himself and calling upon the Lord his God, that his eyes may be opened that he may see, and his ears opened that he may hear,

For my Spirit is sent forth into the world to enlighten the humble and contrite, and to the condemnation of the ungodly.

In this we have at once an outline of proceedings for the journey, as well as a moral code, and a guide to proper conduct, indicating its author to be a great planner, a wise law-giver, and a faithful religious director. But, says one, these were not President Young's instructions; they came to him by revelation. This is exactly the view he took. He gave to God all the glory, which made himself none the less great. His rule of action was to learn the will of God and do it. While he, himself, possessed wonderful powers of organization, government, execution, was a statesmen in the highest sense of the word, displaying, besides, superior, common-sense ability in religious affairs—he always maintained that what he was, and whatever greatness he possessed, was due to the revelations of God—to the gospel of Jesus Christ. He said many times that Mormonism, which is the true gospel, founded upon revelation, made him.

In conformity with the instructions given, the Saints began to comply with the requirements. Every preparation was made for an early departure from Winter Quarters, which, at this time, had grown into a flourishing city of twenty-two wards, with a bishop presiding over each. Again the Mormons were to leave their

homes, to seek others in the wilderness, a thousand miles away, somewhere in the mountains.

On the 7th day of April, immediately after conference, the pioneers started from Winter Quarters. Heber C. Kimball, having preceded them on the 5th, was now camped at Cutler's Park, a distance of four miles west. This became the nucleus camp of the pioneer company. On the 8th another movement brought the company beyond the Elk Horn.

On two occasions after starting, President Young returned to Winter Quarters to greet Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, who returned on different days from their English missions. He left the affairs on the Missouri in charge of these Apostles, appointed a special committee to superintend the emigrations, and then joined the camp. During the next few days following the 17th of April, when the Camp was about sixty miles west of the starting point, President Young thoroughly organized the pioneers into a military company, with captains of divisions and officers, himself being Lieutenant-General.

The whole company consisted of 143 men, 3 women, and 2 children—148 souls. They had seventy-two wagons, ninety-three horses, fifty-two mules, sixty-six oxen and nineteen cows, besides seventeen dogs and some chickens. They carried a cannon to over-awe the Indians. There were blacksmiths, mechanics, farmers and builders, so that the band was ready not only to fight its way through, but also to construct it; and when they should reach a place which God should designate as their journey's end, they were prepared to colonize, settle and build up the country, and till the earth. A clerk, and historians were chosen—Thomas Bullock, Willard Richards and William Clayton, filling these positions.

Some of President Young's instructions to the camp indicate his master ability in organization and discipline. He arranged for the men to travel in a compact body, each with his loaded gun in hand, or, if a teamster, in his wagon, ready for instant use. Each man was to walk beside his wagon under orders not to leave it without permission. Wherever practicable, two wagons were to travel abreast. At the call of the bugle at 5 o'clock in the morning, all were to arise, assemble for prayers, feed teams, get breakfast, and be ready to start at the second call of the bugle, at 7 o'clock. At 8:30 in the evening the bugle sounded, and each was to retire for prayers in his own wagon, and was expected to be in bed by 9 o'clock. The Sabbath was to be observed. The night was divided into two watches, and twelve men were to stand guard at a time. The usual method of forming corrals, by locking the fore-wheel of each wagon in the hind wheel of the one ahead, with the tongues out, was adopted. The animals grazed at times some distance away, but were generally kept in the circular or oblong enclosure of the wagons.

With this organization and equipment, and with these and other instructions, the Pioneers wended their way west, the journey of a thousand miles or more being made mostly on foot.

Interspersed with many a thrilling incident and many a manifestation of the goodness and mercy of God, their dreary march was continued, until that memorable 24th of July, when, from an elevation of the Wasatch, the founder of Utah, sick with fever, gazed with wonder and admiration upon the Great Salt Lake Valley—upon the panorama of sage brush, mountains, valley, lake and hills, spread out before him—the future home of the Mormons.

## 9. INCIDENTS OF THE PIONEER JOURNEY.

For three months and seventeen days, this company of sturdy pioneers kept on their westward course. They followed the Platte River for hundreds of miles, passing along its north bank. President Young and his band preferred the north side of the river, notwithstanding they were compelled to break a new road, because they and the Saints who should follow them would thus escape coming in contact with the quarrelsome Missourians, their old time enemies, many companies of whom, on their way west, were passing on the south side, which was the regular route, and upon which grass was more plentiful and the Indians less troublesome. The way thus pioneered was traversed by thousands who followed them to the valleys of the mountains, and for years was known as the "Old Mormon Road." The engines of the Union Pacific now thunder along the course of the river, through the fruitful fields of Nebraska, on a grade which covers this old "trail" for several hundred miles.

On April 21st, the pioneers were visited by a band of Pawnee Indians, who were very pressing in their demands for presents. The camp doled out to them of its scanty store, but could not satiate their desire for more. The Indians rode away unsatisfied, and the pioneers passed the cold and stormy night with some apprehensions of an attack. The old cannon was made ready for use and placed in position on the outside of the camp, in case of assault, but the morning found the camp in the enjoyment of peace. It was during this night that some of the guards, weary with the previous day's march, fell asleep at their posts, awakening to find their guns and head-coverings taken away by their sportive companions. Their chagrin was their only reproof.

Loup Fork, a treacherous tributary of the Platte, was crossed with much difficulty. A leather boat, the "Revenue Cutter," brought as a wagon box from Winter Quarters, was used at this crossing. Rafts, also, were constructed to carry the loaded wagons over the treacherous beds of quicksand. Whitney relates an incident occurring just prior to their crossing this river, which illustrates the fair and honest nature of President Young, as well as his eager desire to have no act committed that would in any way expose the pioneers to the suspicion of the government:—"Some of the pioneers had picked up a few plowshares and other pieces of iron lying around the site of a government station which had recently been burned to the ground during an incursion of the hostile Sioux. President Young would not permit this appropriation of property except upon the score of the government's indebtedness to James Case, one of the company, who had been employed as an Indian farmer. Those who took the iron were required to settle for it with Father Case, who was in turn directed to report to the proper authorities the amount he had thus collected on account."

Reaching Grand Island about the first of May, the pioneers engaged in a buffalo hunt. In those days the prairies swarmed with these now almost extinct animals, and as many as fifty thousand had been seen in a day. The chase resulted in the killing of one bull, three cows and six calves, which were brought in wagons into camp, and the meat was distributed equally among the companies. At that time it was customary for travelers to kill game without restraint. It was not unusual to see acres of ground covered with carcasses, wool and other remains of the slaughter. After the chase, Presi-

dent Young took occasion to instruct his men not to kill uselessly. Said he: "If we slay when we have no need, we will need when we cannot slay." This was in keeping with his views on economy, and his ideas of utility. Every created thing, in his eyes, had a mission to perform. It was a sin to divert anything from its termination of usefulness, from its profitableness to some valuable end. In a sermon, he said on one occasion: "If a man is worth millions of bushels of wheat and corn, he is not wealthy enough to suffer his servant girl to sweep a single kernel of it into the fire; let it be eaten by something, and pass again into the earth, and thus fulfill the purpose for which it grew."

Continuing, the pioneers reached a place on the 21st of May, where they erected a guide-board, 409 miles from Winter Quarters, and according to Fremont 132 miles from Laramie. Such marks were frequently erected to guide future emigrations. General Young went daily with his staff of men marking out the route. The distance was measured with an original road meter, invented by Wm. Clayton. The first half of the great journey was completed about June 1st, when they arrived opposite Fort Laramie, the chief trading post on the overland route—543 miles from Winter Quarters. Here they were reinforced by a company of the invalid detachments of the Mormon Battalion, and by some Saints from Mississippi, which increased their numbers to two-hundred and sixty-five. Four men, with Apostle Amasa M. Lyman as leader, were selected to go to Pueblo, to bring the main body of the Mississippi Saints to Laramie, then over the mountains in the pioneer trail. President Young and several of the Apostles crossed over the river to the Fort to confer with the authorities.

They were kindly received, hired a boat for \$15 to help them in crossing the river, and learned from the principal man of the place—James Bordeaux—that the old Mormon enemy, ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, had passed that way some days before. He had warned Bordeaux to look well after his animals when the Mormons came along. The gentleman was not greatly prejudiced, however, for he said that no company could be worse than Boggs'. He afterward remarked that the Mormons were the best behaved company that had come that way.

After crossing the river, a few days were consumed in repairing wagons, etc., and on the 4th day of June the journey was resumed. Two companies of Missourians, continually quarrelling, overtook and passed the pioneers. Speaking about their contentions, President Young uttered a prophecy when he said: "They curse, swear rip and tear, and are trying to swallow up the earth; but though they do not wish us to have a place on it the earth might as well open and swallow them up; for they will go to the land of forgetfulness, while the Saints though they suffer some privations here, if faithful will ultimately inherit the earth, and increase in power, dominion and glory." Today it would not be known that they ever crossed the plains, only for the records of the Mormons; and but for the mention of his name in the annals of the Saints Governor Boggs would be forgotten.

Beyond the Black Hills the pioneers again crossed to the north side of the river, consuming a week in so doing. President Young had sent previously a detachment of men ahead with the *Revenue Cutter* to help other companies over, and this work was progressing when the main body reached the ferry. For their services, the

ferrymen received from the Missourians \$1.50 for each wagon and load, taking flour in pay at Missouri prices. Thus were the Mormon pioneers in an unexpected manner and at a time when they were most in need, given bread by their old enemies. "It looked," says President Wilford Woodruff, "as much of a miracle to me to see our flour and meal bags replenished in the Black Hills as it did to have the children of Israel fed with manna in the wilderness." President Young considered this a fit place to establish a permanent ferry for the benefit of those who should come after, and so he detailed nine men to stay for this purpose, instructing them to divide their earnings among the needy in the next company, to be careful of the lives of those who were to be ferried over, to attend to their prayers, and to come with the next company of Saints from Winter Quarters.

On the 19th of June the journey was continued, and on the 26th South Pass was reached, where began the western descent of the Rockies. A short distance west from this place they met the scout and trapper, Major Moses Harris, from whom they gained some information, not at all encouraging, of the valley of the Great Salt Lake. As a place of settlement, he rather favored Cache Valley, (so called by trappers who cached their furs from the Indians in this region,) as it was a "fine place for wintering cattle." On the 28th they arrived at Little Sandy, where they met Colonel James Bridger, who furnished additional information concerning the valley of the Great Salt Lake. His account was even less encouraging than the accounts already received. He thought it unwise to bring a large colony into the Great Basin until it could be proven whether grain would grow there or not; and he it was who offered to give a thousand

dollars for the first ear of corn ripened, or for the first bushel of wheat produced in the Salt Lake Valley.

Reaching Green River on the 30th of June, the pioneers were met by Elder Brannan, who had crossed the snow-covered Sierras from his colony of Saints in California. He informed President Young that they had reached the Bay of San Francisco July 31st, the year previous, and were now settled on the San Joaquin River. He tried to induce the President to join his company, but neither the adverse reports of the mountaineers, nor Brannan's flattering description of the riches of the California coast, could change the determination of President Young to settle in the divinely appointed resting place of the Saints, in the midst of the mountains, on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. To the natural man this did not appear to be the wisest course, but Brigham Young saw with the eyes of inspiration, and the wisdom of his decision was revealed in after years.

After crossing Green River the pioneers sacredly observed the "Glorious Fourth," it being Sunday, and continuing reached Fort Bridger on the 7th of July, where preparations were made for the rough mountain journey before them. Leaving Fort Bridger on the 9th, they met Miles Goodyear, another mountaineer, near Bear River. His report of the valley was no more favorable than the others previously received.

On the 13th President Young was stricken with mountain fever, and fell behind the company. The next day Orson Pratt was instructed to organize a picked company to precede the pioneers. They were to select a trail over the mountains to Great Salt Lake, since it had been learned that the route through Weber Canyon was impassable owing to high waters. They proceeded

down the Weber, and turning followed an old almost imperceptible trail toward East Canyon. With much labor they passed up that gorge for several miles, then turned west up a ravine until they reached Big Mountain, from the summit of which, on the 19th of July, Orson Pratt and John Brown, first of all the pioneers, saw a glimpse of the Great Salt Lake Valley. Messengers kept the rear companies informed of the movements of the vanguard, and the latter were notified that it was the impression of President Young to have Pratt's company bear to the north, upon emerging from the mountains, and stop at the first place suitable for putting in crops. These instructions were followed, and resulted in the selection of the site of the present Salt Lake City.

The pioneers now traveled in three detachments. On the 23rd President Young reached the Big Mountain summit, from which, reclining in Apostle Woodruff's carriage, he caught a first glimpse of the visible portions of the valley. What a picture! What sentiments filled the heart of the Founder of Utah, as he gazed, full of earnest thoughts, on the scene before him. A resting place at last. Awakening from his reverie, he burst forth: "Enough. This is the right place. Drive on."

That day a messenger from the advance camps brought the news that the valley had been explored as far as possible, and that the choice of a spot for putting in crops had been made.

The next day—Pioneer Day, July 24th—President Young entered into the valley. Apostle Wilford Woodruff gives the following account of the entrance, and of the prophetic visions of their minds which he—among the last on earth of all that noble train—has lived to see fulfilled:

"July 24th.—This is one of the most important days of my life and in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After traveling six miles through a deep ravine ending with the canyon we came in full view of the valley of the Great Salt Lake the land of promise held in reserve by God as a resting place for his Saints. We gazed in wonder and admiration upon the vast valley before us, with the waters of the Great Salt Lake glistening in the sun, mountains towering to the skies, and streams of pure water running through the beautiful valley. It was the grandest view that we had ever seen till this moment. Pleasant thoughts ran through our minds at the prospect that, not many years hence, the house of God would be established in the mountains and exalted above the hills, while the valleys would be converted into orchards, vineyards, and fruitful fields, cities erected to the name of the Lord, and the standard of Zion unfurled for the gathering of the nations. President Young expressed his entire satisfaction at the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints and felt amply repaid for his journey. While lying upon his bed, in my carriage, gazing upon the scene before us, many things of the future, concerning the valley, were shown to him in vision."

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#### 10. EXPLORATION AND RETURN TO THE MISSOURI.

Brigham Young arrived at the camp in Salt Lake Valley about noon, July 24th, 1847.

The valley was not the most attractive spot that one could gaze upon, when the Mormons first entered it; and there was some disappointment among the pioneers when the President announced that it was the place which he had previously beheld in vision, the place where "he

had seen the tent settling down from heaven and resting, and a voice said unto him, 'here is the place where my people Israel shall pitch their tents.'" But the confidence of the pioneers in their leader soon dispelled their disheartening doubts and impressions, and in time their thrift and the blessings of the God of Israel, converted the treeless waste into a fruitful garden.

It was now late in the year, hence, all haste was made to till the earth. No time must be lost, if a harvest were to be realized that season. Apostle Woodruff neither ate nor drank until he had planted the half bushel of potatoes which he had brought with him. After the ground had been planted, the little stream was diverted from its course, and its waters were spread over the planted ground to give it "a good soaking."—the first lesson in irrigation, an art since so famous among the settlers of the West. Thus ended the first 24th of July.

The following day was the Sabbath, and the pioneers, under the broad canopy of heaven, gathered in the circle of their encampment to praise God for their deliverance. Not a soul had died on the journey. Those who spoke were satisfied with their situation and with the future prospects. The sacrament was partaken of. Apostle Orson Pratt called attention to the prophecies of Isaiah concerning modern Israel. He declared the Mormons were fulfilling the predictions of the ancient seers. God was to "hide his people in the chambers of the mountains" and in the last days was to "establish his house on the tops of the mountains, and exalt it above the hills."

But President Young, always practical, dwelt upon themes, though possibly less poetic, just as true, useful,

and religious. Too feeble to stand, he sat in his arm chair, and laid down the law. "He told the brethren," says Apostle Woodruff, "that they must not work on Sunday; that they would lose five times as much as they would gain by it. None were to hunt or fish on that day; and there should not any man dwell among us who would not observe these rules. They might go and dwell where they pleased but should not dwell with us. He also said, no man should buy any land who came here; that he had none to sell, but every man should have his land measured out to him for city and farming purposes. He might till it as he pleased, but he must be industrious, and take care of it." He then directed the organization of three exploring parties, to explore the country north, west and south, for he wished every nook and corner known to the settlers. Said he: "It is necessary that we should learn the facilities of the country and be able to report to our brethren whose eyes are turned towards us. But I can tell you before you start that you will find many facilities for settlements all around us, and you will all return feeling satisfied that this is the most suitable place, and the place for us to make our commencement. Here is the place to build our city."

On the morrow, the farmers began their planting, and the exploring parties early set about their labors. The President headed one party which went north. They ascended the peak north of Salt Lake City, climbing the hills west of City Creek canyon. "A good place to raise an ensign to the nations," said President Young, and the peak to this day is called Ensign Peak. From day to day the exploring labors went on. Black Rock, the Great Salt Lake, (which Brigham was the first to

bathe in,) the Warm Springs, the Jordan and surrounding country, were visited, but all were satisfied that the location on the banks of City Creek was the place to found their city, as the prophet had remarked.

On the 28th of July, after a council meeting, President Young and the Twelve proceeded to a spot midway between the two branches of City Creek, where he struck the ground with his cane, exclaiming: "Here will be the temple of our God \* \* \* \* The city can be laid out perfectly square, north and south, east and west." The great temple in Salt Lake City, the corner stone of which was laid April 6th, 1853, and which was dedicated April 6th, 1893, covers this same spot of ground. It was then decided that the building of the city should begin at that point. The size of the blocks (ten acres), the width of the streets (eight rods), and their intersection at right angles, were also decided upon, and the plan of building the city was adopted. The whole proceeding was ratified by the people, at a meeting that evening. The general plan adopted here became a guide for the founding of all the cities of the Saints thereafter. At the meeting, the President took occasion to address the people on a variety of subjects of a temporal nature. He said that he was determined to have all things in order, and that "righteousness should be practiced in the land." Thus was Salt Lake City begun.

The next day President Young with others went to meet 140 men of the Battalion detachment, and about 100 Mississippi Saints who had come with them from Pueblo.

Returning with this needed re-enforcement, President Young was kept busy counseling and advising the people

and planning for their welfare. In the early part of August the Twelve were baptized, followed later by the people generally, all of whom renewed their covenants by baptism. Boweries for public meetings were erected, the "Old Fort" was projected and built, eighty-three acres of ground had been plowed and planted, the survey of the city was begun, logs were hauled from the canyon and building begun, further exploration was engaged in, salt was discovered by the lake, the land of the city was divided among the Apostles for an inheritance for them and their friends, and so the work went steadily on. A company of seventy-one men returned to Winter Quarters, on the 17th of August.

On the 22nd, a general, special conference was held, at which the settlement, on motion of President Young, was christened Great Salt Lake City. Other important business affairs were considered. A Stake of Zion was organized, and the western Jordan and the creeks in the neighborhood were named. It was the intention that President Young and the pioneers should return to Winter Quarters that fall, and this conference was necessary that the people might be instructed by the leaders, in relation to themselves as well as to those who were now on the way, and who would soon enter the valley. The great colonizer's parting injunction shows his keen insight into the future, the wisdom of his plans, and reveals in him the architect of the new Zion and its institutions:

"It is necessary that the adobe yard (the stockade) should be secured so that Indians cannot get in. To accommodate those few who shall remain here after we return it would only be necessary to build one side of the fort, but common sense teaches us to build it all round. By and by men of means will be coming on, and they

will want rooms, and the men who build them will then be entitled to their pay. Make your walls  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, so that they can keep the cattle out, build your houses so that you will have plenty of fresh air in them or some of you will get sick after being used to sleeping in your wagons so long. We propose to fence in a tract of land thirty rods square, so that in case of necessity the cattle can be brought inside and the hay also be stacked there. In the spring this fence can be removed and a trench be plowed about twenty feet from the houses to enable the women to raise garden vegetables. I want to engage 50,000 bushels of wheat and the same amount of corn and other grain in proportion. I will pay you \$1.25 per bushel for wheat and 50 cents for corn. Why cannot I bring glass for you and you raise corn for me? Raise all the grain you, and with this you can purchase sheep, cows, teams, etc., of those who come here later on. We desire you to live in that stockade until we come back again, and raise grain next year.

Such of the pioneers and Battalion men as had families on the Missouri were selected to go with President Young on his return to Winter Quarters. On the 26th of August, the company numbering 108 men, thoroughly organized, bade "good-by to all who tarry," and proceeded east. The Saints, numbering over 1500 souls, with over 600 wagons, who had departed from Winter Quarters according to the instructions received through President Young, were met in detachments by the pioneers on their eastward journey. From him they learned for the first time where they were going. This gave them new courage, and they set their faces with fresh determination to gain the new Zion in the mountains. They were organized as directed, and the emigration committee

had them in charge, Apostles P. P. Pratt and John Taylor having general supervision. Their companies began arriving in Salt Lake Valley in the latter part of September, and in the early part of October, all the trains had reached the city in safety.

The return trip of the pioneers, though full of hardships, was gladdened by many happy meetings with their friends. On the Platte, the party had a great many of their animals stolen, and would have lost all had it not been for the cunning of a very intelligent horse, owned by the President. This animal would not be driven away, but circled out far beyond the thieving Indians, followed by many of the other horses, returning to camp with its companions, in spite of the efforts of the savages to drive them away.

On the 31st of October, they marched in order into Winter Quarters, the streets being crowded with loving friends to greet them. Well might President Young say: "We were truly rejoiced once more to behold our wives, children, and old friends, after an absence of six months, having traveled over 2,000 miles \* \* \* and accomplished the most important mission in this last dispensation."

Prosperity had attended the people on the Missouri.

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#### 11. CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF THE CHURCH.

Up to this time Brigham Young had led the people as President of the Twelve Apostles, and there had been no First Presidency since the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A general organization now took place prepara-

tory to the migration contemplated in the spring. On the 5th of December, 1847, a council of the Twelve Apostles decided to fill the vacant quorum; accordingly, at a general conference held on the east side of the Missouri—the headquarters of the Church being still on the frontiers—the First Presidency was re-organized. Brigham Young\* was sustained as the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in all the world, with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards his counselors. This was done on the 27th day of December. This action of the Apostles and Saints on the Missouri was ratified at a conference, held in the Fort Bowery in Great Salt Lake City, on the 8th of October the year following, just after President Young's second arrival in the valley.

Lively preparations were made, early in 1848, for the departure of the main body of the Saints from Winter Quarters. In the latter part of May the organization was completed, on the Elk Horn which became the rendezvous for the west-bound pilgrims; and in the early part of June President Young, having first given the people instructions to be observed on the way, broke camp and set out on his second journey to the mountains. The emigration consisted of three divisions, numbering 2,417 souls, with 822 wagons. He had general charge of all

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\* "While in adversity there were none more steadfast, it must be admitted that there were few in whom success developed so little of pride and vain glory. From this time forth Brigham Young was to the Saints as a Prophet—yea, and more than a Prophet; one on whom the mantle had fallen not unworthily. By his foresight he had saved his people from dispersion, and perchance his faith from annihilation. Hounded by a mob, he had led his followers with consummate tact throughout their pilgrimage, and in the wilderness as yet almost untrodden by man had at length established for them an abiding place"—Bancroft's Utah, p. 271.

the companies, and special charge of the first and largest company which numbered 1,229 souls, with 397 wagons.

The chief body of the Mormons was thus moving to their new home, after having enjoyed, or rather endured, a temporary rest in the wilderness of something over two years. Winter Quarters was now almost deserted. Kanesville, on the other side of the river, became a point of outfit and departure for Mormon emigrations, which now began from the old world, and continued for several years thereafter. Some of the leaders remained there to look after important Church business, while others were called on foreign missions. Before parting from them, President Young blessed them all, as well as those who were to accompany him to the valley; and among the consoling remarks which he uttered was this, that the Saints would never be driven from the Rocky Mountains. He and the Apostles had also issued an epistle, calling upon the Saints to gather to Zion, and upon the peoples of the nations to help them build a house to the name of the God of Jacob, a city of rest "a habitation for the oppressed of every clime."\*

The first company of Saints under President Young arrived in Great Salt Lake City on September 20th 1848, and in the course of a month thereafter all the trains had arrived.

During the absence of their leader the pioneer Saints had undergone many vicissitudes. The winter had been mild but food had been scarce. Thistle tops, sego and parsnip roots, constituted the vegetable diet. Skins in some instances served for clothing. The wild animals had annoyed them some, but the worst plague of all

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\* *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 81.

was the swarms of crickets which, in the latter part of May, had invaded their fields and gardens, threatening a famine. The gulls came and thus saved the crops from total destruction.

The new companies now swelled the population to about five thousand people—about one-fourth of the exiles from Nauvoo. At last the Saints had made their escape from bondage and persecution to their promised land of freedom. Dreary though it was, in it they loved to dwell. Now a barren desert, under their thrift, it was soon to "blossom as the rose." It is a marvel of the age that so many people, poor and defenseless, in the wilderness, without support, should have accomplished such a journey, over wild mountains, exposed to roaming bands of savages, almost without the loss of life.

To Brigham Young's ability as organizer, to his skill as a leader, to his perfect tact, to his power of commanding from the people a harmonious concert of purpose and action this miracle is due.

Brigham Young said that this capacity and potency were special gifts from God.

## IV. THE FOUNDING OF UTAH.

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### 1. IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS.

In connection with the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, there were at this period three great problems that presented themselves: these were colonization, organization and government.

The great founder's first thoughts and acts were turned to the task of providing for the prosperity and well-being of the people whom he had led through the wilderness into the mountains. Their temporal necessities must be supplied, and with these the proper spiritual food must be administered; for it must be borne in mind that their mission and main aim were purely religious. It is useless to teach religious sentiment to a people whose stomachs are empty; no man ever realized this more than did Brigham Young. He took a common-sense view of religion—considered it a guide in temporal as well as spiritual things. Hence, temporal comforts, or at least temporal necessities, were first to be provided. They were an absolute foundation for spiritual welfare, but the two went hand in hand. Neither was ever neglected. A change indeed, would this one idea alone work among the masses of the world, if the well-fed ministers considered this question in the same light, acted upon it, and took hold of it with their coats off, as did the founder of Utah.

Heretofore, the Saints had lived almost exclusively

in one body, in one city. Now, as the gathering thousands, from the States and from Europe, came to the new Zion, to build and to scatter about in the chambers of the mountains, there arose necessity for a profitable and uniform scheme of colonization; and with it was required a system of church government to be evolved from the outlines drawn by the Prophet Joseph, and which should tend to unity and harmony among the Saints.

But it was clear from the first that an ecclesiastical organization alone, would not long sufficiently meet the requirements of the community. It was, therefore, Brigham Young's desire to have a separate political organization, so that the new commonwealth might become a part of the great Union, whose citizens, it is true, had driven the Mormons into the wilderness of a foreign land, but whose loyal sons and daughters the Latter-day Saints were still, as they have continued to remain. In addition, people of other faiths began to appear among them, and thus arose the necessities for political organization and a civil government.

Then there was the policy to be pursued towards the Indians. There arose, also, a score of detail questions demanding attention, as well in the ecclesiastical and social and religious, as in the political and financial government of a whole people; a people, too, many of whom had been educated with a diversity of ideas concerning the aims and objects of life.

When we remember that much of this detail labor actually devolved upon, was planned and superintended by one man, we may form an idea of the stupendous work executed by Brigham Young, the Founder of Utah.

## 2. THE GOLD EXCITEMENT.

The first consideration attracting President Young's attention after his arrival in the valley, in the fall of 1848, was the small supply of food. The people were now stirred to activity. Over five thousand acres of land were plotted for fencing and cultivation. Over eight hundred were sowed in winter wheat. The Council House was projected, and a proposition was made to bring the waters of the Big Cottonwood to the city. And thus were the Saints kept busy until the approach of winter.

The crop, upon which the new arrivals had measurably depended, was a partial failure, and before the unusually severe winter of 1848-9 was over the people suffered greatly for food. Extreme hunger was prevented by their unity and brotherly feeling. They assisted each other, and divided their scanty store in community fashion.

In those early days money was not to be obtained, hence products served as medium of trade instead of cash. The great inconvenience of thus bartering is plainly apparent. The Mormon Battalion men, who were among the first to discover gold in California, brought with them, on returning to the valley in 1848, bags of gold dust, but the use of the loose metal was very inconvenient, entailing trouble and loss in weighing. To obviate this President Young issued a paper currency, in January, 1849, taking the loose gold as security. He and Thomas Bullock, his clerk, did the first type-setting in the valley, for this primitive currency. Some time after, dies were made, the gold dust was coined, and the money locally used until superseded by legal tender, when the coins were disposed of as bullion to the federal mints.

But the question of a circulating medium was not as difficult to solve as the problem of gold digging which now confronted the Mormons. Under the scarcity and the actual want existing among them, it was little wonder that some of the Saints should wish to better their condition by going to the gold fields of California, which had set afame the civilized world. Several families departed for the mines in the early days of 1849, and others had caught the gold fever. In an epistle to the Saints, President Young and the Apostles sternly rebuked this outbreak. "The true use of gold," said they, "is for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes; and when the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain and built up cities enough the Lord will open up a way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of His people. Until then, let them not be over-anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's storehouse, and He will open the doors thereof when and where He pleases." President Young counselled "all the Saints to remain in the valleys of the mountains, make improvements, build comfortable houses, and raise grain." He had previously said to the returned Battalion men: "If we were to go to San Francisco and dig up chunks of gold, or find it in the valley, it would ruin us." In a Sabbath address he told the Saints: "I hope the gold mines will be no nearer than eight hundred miles. \* \* \* Prosperity and riches blunt the feelings of man. If the people were united, I would send men to get the gold who would care no more about it than the dust under their feet, and then we would gather millions into the Church. Some men don't want to go after gold, but they are the very men to go."

It required the judgment of such a man as Brigham Young to break the heated fever. A general migration from Salt Lake City to the gold fields at that time would have been more fatal to the Church than the mobbings of Missouri and Illinois repeated. Well was it for Mormonism that the great majority of its adherents followed the wise counsel of their leader, remained content in the valley to build up their cities and towns, to plant their farms and tend their stock.

Great Salt Lake City became the resting place, the "half-way house" for the thousands of adventurous spirits, from all nations of the earth, who, colony after colony, came pouring in a mad rush to the paradise of gold in the West. Their trains of merchandise, provisions, implements, and the blooded but jaded and worn out stock, were "sold for a song," or exchanged in Utah for fresh animals to carry them more hurriedly to their destination; and so the wagon loads of goods and other wealth—so greatly needed by the all but destitute settlers—intended for California, remained in Utah to enrich its poor poulation. The prophecy of President Young, made soon after the exodus from Nauvoo, that in a few years the Saints would be more prosperous than ever, was fulfilled; likewise was the prophetic utterance of Heber C. Kimball, made in 1848, when the people scarcely knew where to get the next scanty meal, or skins for their nakedness, that within three years "States goods" would be sold cheaper in Salt Lake Valley than in New York. These prophecies were thus fulfilled in an unexpected way to the very letter.

From the opposition which President Young manifested against the people's going to the California mines, it went abroad that he was opposed to mining for its own

sake. This is not true. He was averse to it in those early days because he saw what a demoralizing effect the thirst and flight for gold would have upon the Saints; this same reason explains his attitude on mining in Utah in later years. He was anxious and willing that mines should be opened, but desired that this should be postponed until the people should have grown strong enough to withstand successfully its allurements and temptations, as well as its evil influences.

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### 3. COLONIZATION.

The peopling of the Great Basin with Latter-day Saints was uppermost in the mind of the great colonizer, Brigham Young, and from this time on every effort was made to extend the borders of the Territory, by the formation of new cities and towns in various parts of the country. At the close of 1849 there were about thirty thousand converts in Great Britain, the missionary work having continued in that land during the exodus of the Saints in America. It was a part of the colonization plan to gather these to Zion as soon as possible. The first company of emigrants, under Orson Spencer, arrived in Salt Lake Valley from England that fall, having been about eight months on the way. Others followed. Up to this time the converts from England had paid their own way. They had been selected from among the well-to-do classes; but there were now many poor among those who remained, as well as among the scattered Saints on the frontier, in Iowa and Missouri. It was for the purpose of aiding these and others of their class to the valley that the Perpetual Emigrating Fund

was established, in October, 1849, through the instrumentality of Brigham Young. A large sum of money was obtained for this fund, and Bishop Edward Hunter was sent to the frontier to put its provisions into operation, and to take charge of the next season's emigration. At the same time many prominent Elders were called to various parts of the earth on missions—to France, Scandinavia, Italy, Great Britain, Lower California and the Society Islands. This fund, which was kept in operation thereafter for upwards of forty years, proved to be an efficacious medium in the colonization of Utah, and was the means of assisting many thousand persons from a state of poverty in the Old World, to the acquisition of pleasant homes and the comforts of life in the New. The Saints who were thus helped were to refund the amount borrowed to help others, as it was considered a loan rather than a gift. The fund was thus made "perpetual." Generally the amounts were returned; but some neglected this, either willingly or through their financial embarrassments, and at the fifty-year-Jubilee Conference, in 1880, when one-half of the amount due the fund was remitted to the worthy needy, the outstanding accounts amounted to over one and a half million dollars.

Hand in hand with the efforts at colonization went the labors of organization. No colony was left without its ecclesiastical authorities who, in the nature of things, became the rulers in religious and secular matters. President Young arranged and explained the duties of the various quorums of the Priesthood,\* and never permitted any of these long at a time to be incomplete.

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\*The Church is governed by the Holy Priesthood, of which there are two grand heads—the Melchisedek, or higher, and the Aaronic, or lesser.

As early as February 12, 1849, the ecclesiastical organization of Salt Lake City was perfected. The quorum of Apostles was filled by the calling and ordination of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards to the Apostleship. Then on the following two days a Stake organization was effected, and the city was divided into nineteen ecclesiastical wards, with a Bishop over each. Until the introduction of a regular civil government these officers, and others that were appointed as new settlement was made, held secular or temporal administration over the people. The public labors were performed under their direction, they were the administrators of all temporal affairs, the judges among the people; and under their supervision the work of founding and building cities went on, under the general direction of Brigham Young, and under the immediate instructions of the Presidents of Stakes.\*

Some of the settlers, soon after the arrival of the pioneers, went north, principally for the purpose of finding range for their stock. What is now Cache and Box Elder Counties were explored. Davis County was

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The former holds the right of presidency, the right to receive revelation for the guidance of the Church, and to hold the keys of all its spiritual blessings, and includes the quorums of Apostles, Seventies, High Priests, and Elders, also Patriarchs. The latter, holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and the right to minister in outward ordinances, or temporal affairs, and includes Bishops, Priests, Teachers and Deacons.—See Doc. and Cov., section III.

\* A Stake is a division of the Church, presided over by a council of three High Priests, and in Utah generally corresponds geographically to the division of counties, while in other states and territories, it often embraces larger districts. The stakes are divided into wards, in each of which a Bishop and his two counselors exercise supervision. Wards are subdivided into districts, where presiding elders or teachers look after the interests of the Church members.

settled in the fall of 1847; Ogden,\* by James Brown, early in 1848. In January of that year he purchased the Miles Goodyear claim, which included the greater portion of the present Weber County.

All these movements were in keeping with the instructions which the explorers received from their leader upon the first arrival of the pioneers, and were agreeable to his grand scheme of colonization.

Other districts in the south were penetrated. The Sanpete country was explored in 1848, by Isaac Morley and others; and in June, 1849, the Ute Chief Walker visited Salt Lake City to invite the Mormons to settle that region, so that they might teach the Indians how to farm. "Within six moons," answered President Young, "I will send you a company." The promise was kept, and the site of the city Manti was laid out by him in November of that year.

The Country about Provo River, now Utah County, was early explored, and was settled in the spring of 1849. Many cities and towns were soon after founded in this vicinity.

In the fall of 1849 the country west of Salt Lake was explored. President Young named it Tule, owing to the abundance of reeds found there. The clerk wrote it Tooele, and the region is so called today.

Parley P. Pratt and George A. Smith explored the country further south resulting in the settlement of colonies in what is now Sevier, Iron and other counties.

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\* The site for Ogden City was selected on the 3rd day of September, 1849, by President Young, but it was not until the 28th day of August of the following year that he and others laid out the city, of which Hon. Lorin Farr became the practical founder.

Then followed exploring parties and colonies to all parts of the Territory. Care was always taken that the various crafts would be represented in each colony and that they should provide themselves with plenty of provisions, stock, implements and other necessaries. Instead of building near about the central city it was President Young's wiser plan to occupy the whole country at a sweep. Thus as we have seen whenever it was deemed necessary explorers were sent out to select sites for new settlements and having decided upon their locations volunteers under organized Elders were called for to settle upon them and build them up.

When it is remembered how much of wild, barren savage Utah was thus redeemed within two years after the arrival of the pioneers, by men scarcely rested from their toilsome journey over the plains, the work appears marvelous; and we are at once impressed with the wisdom, foresight, energy and ability of the man—rather the genius who could so skillfully direct this work, himself also taking active part therein, and so successfully plan for the government, safety and welfare of these communities.\* Under Brigham Young, the people became so trained in redeeming the waste places, that to this day the Latter-day Saints view the colonization of new regions almost as a religious duty. At present they occupy the country extending for over a thousand miles from Old Mexico to Canada, and their numerous, thrifty cities and villages are found in the valleys of the

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\* "The settlers, with their marvelous energy and thrift, made more progress and suffered less privation in reclaiming the waste lands of their wilderness than did the Spaniards in the garden spots of Mexico and Central America, or the English in the most favored regions near the Atlantic seaboard."—Bancroft's Utah, p. 330.

mountains, in nearly every State and Territory of the mighty West. The impress of the colonizing genius of Brigham Young is still manifest in their midst; its power has made them the most successful pioneers and empire founders of our country.

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#### 4. APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF UTAH.

The early settlers, as we have seen, were at first ruled by Church authority, and there was little need of civil government, until people of other faiths began to mingle with the Saints. Besides, up to the spring of 1849, when the political history of Utah properly begins, the people had been so busy with providing themselves with food, with exploring the country, and with selecting suitable places for homes, that there had been little time for politics.

The war with Mexico was ended. The Mormons had given their aid to wrest from that country the vast region from which was afterward formed the States and Territories of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed February 2nd, 1848, by the terms of which this great western territory was ceded to the United States. The Mormons were well nigh the only occupants of the new domain, and they were hopeful and energetic enough to believe that in time they could subdue and occupy the country which they had pioneered.

Under these conditions, President Young summoned a convention of "all the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains." This convention assembled in Salt Lake City,

March 4th, 1849, and their deliberation resulted in the expressed determination to petition Congress to form a territorial government. A committee was also selected to draft a constitution under which the people might govern themselves, until Congress should take action and otherwise provide by law. On the 10th of March the constitution was adopted and a Provisional Government was organized under the name of the State of Deseret.\*

The election of officers for this Provisional Government took place on the 12th of March, resulting in the choosing of Brigham Young as Governor; Willard Richards, Secretary; Horace S. Eldredge, Marshal; Daniel H. Wells Attorney-General; besides an Assessor and Collector, a Treasurer, and a Supervisor of Roads; also three judges, Heber C. Kimball, Chief Justice, and John Taylor and Newel K. Whitney Associates. The Bishops of the several Wards were elected as magistrates. The Nauvoo Legion—the militia—was also organized with Daniel H. Wells Major-General. It was not long till the troops were called into action to protect the settlers from Indian depredations in Southern Deseret into which region, as we have seen, the colonists were now moving. A legislature, or General Assembly of the State of Deseret, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, was also elected, with powers and duties defined.

Concerning the justice and fairness extended to all classes under this form of rule—with Brigham Young as Proivsional Governor—which, it must be remembered,

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\* "And they did also carry with them deseret which, by interpretation, is a honey bee."—Book of Mormon, Ether, Chap. II, par. 3.

was purely Mormon, not yet sanctioned by the authority of Congress, we have some striking illustrations in those valuable and impartial works: "Stansbury's Expedition," and Gunnison's "The Mormons."

Captain Stansbury\* says: "The jurisdiction of the 'State of Deseret' had been extended over and was vigorously enforced upon all who came within its borders, and justice was equitably administered alike to 'Saint' and 'Gentile'—as they term all who are not of their persuasion. Their courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who, having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I knew of at least one instance in which the marshal of the State was despatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owner. In their dealings with the crowds of emigrants that passed through their city, the Mormons were ever fair and upright, taking no advantage of the necessitous condition of many, if not all of them. \*

\* \* \* In the whole of our intercourse with them, which

\* Captain Howard Stansbury of the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, came to Salt Lake City on the 28th of August, 1849, wintered there, and remained with his expedition in the territory for a whole year, exploring and surveying the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, also Utah Lake and its vicinity. He also explored a route from the Valley to Fort Hall.

lasted rather more than a year, I cannot refer to a single instance of fraud or extortion to which any of the party was subjected."

Lieutenant John W. Gunnison\* says: "A large branch of the great emigration overland to California passed through the Mormon settlements, which is the best route across the country. Of the parties organized in the States to cross the plains, there was hardly one that did not break into several fragments, and the division of property caused a great deal of difficulty. Many of these litigants applied to the courts of Deseret for redress of grievances, and there was every appearance of impartiality and strict justice done to all parties. Of course there would be dissatisfaction when the right was declared to belong to the one side alone; and the losers circulated letters far and near, of the oppression of the Mormons. These would sometimes rebel against the equity decisions, and then they were made to feel the full majesty of the civil power. For contempt of court they were most severely fined, and in the end found it a losing game to indulge in vituperation of the court, or make remarks derogatory to the high functionaries.

"Again, the fields in the valley are imperfectly fenced, and the emigrants' cattle often trespassed upon the crops. For this, a good remuneration was demanded. A protest would usually be made, the case then taken before the Bishop, and the cost be added to the original demand. Such as these were the instances of terrible oppression that have been industriously circulated as unjust acts of heartless Mormons upon the gold emigration.

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\* Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, afterward Captain Stansbury., Some years later, October 25th, 1853, while encamped on the Sevier, he was killed by the Indians.

"But provisions were sold at very reasonable prices, and their many deeds of charity to the sick and broken-down gold-seekers, all speak loudly in their favor, and must eventually redound to their praise. Such kindness, and apparently brotherly good will among themselves had its effect in converting more than one to their faith and the proselytes deserted the search for golden ore, supposing they had found there pearls of greater price."

According to the decision of the convention, which was held in March, to petition for a territorial government for the citizens of the Great Basin, a memorial, signed by Brigham Young and 2270 others, was sent to Congress, April 30th, asking for a "territorial government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent federal constitution, with the least possible delay," which was carried to Washington by Dr. J. M. Bernhisel.

On July 2nd, 1849, the General Assembly of Deseret met at Salt Lake City; and by joint agreement of its two houses, it was decided to pray for the admission of Deseret as a State of the Union. A new memorial was consequently then prepared. Almon W. Babbit was elected delegate to Congress, and was sent to Washington, bearing the memorial and the constitution of the proposed State. Mr. Babbit presented his documents to Congress, with his credentials as delegate from the Provisional State of Deseret, through Senator Stephen A. Douglass, on the 27th of December of that year; but his petition was denied, and he was, of course, not admitted to Congress. Instead, after a delay of nine months, Congress passed a bill entitled, "An act to establish a territorial government for Utah," providing for the organization of Utah Territory, which was signed by

President Millard Fillmore and went into force on the 9th of September, 1850. The President appointed officers for the Territory as follows: Brigham Young, Governor; B. D. Harris, Secretary; Joseph Buffington, Chief Justice; Perry C. Brocchus and Zerubbabel Snow, Associate Justice; Seth M. Blair, Attorney; and Joseph L. Heywood, Marshal.

The news of the organization of the Territory and the appointment of a Governor and other officers, did not reach the Valley until January 27th, 1851, being even then unofficially conveyed by way of San Francisco, through New York newspapers which were brought to Salt Lake by Mr. Henry E. Gibson. In the meantime the Provisional Government continued to bear sway.

President Young was on one of his preaching tours in the north, having organized several bishoprics in Davis County and Ogden City, and formed the Weber Stake of Zion with Lorin Farr as President, when the news of his appointment reached him through General Daniel H. Wells, with military escort, who met him in Davis County, and accompanied him to Salt Lake City "amid firing of cannon and other demonstrations of rejoicing."

Viewing the source from which the news was obtained, as reliable, he took the oath of office on the 3rd day of February, 1851, and at once entered upon his duties as Governor of Utah Territory.

His first labor was to make arrangements, to change the provisional, to the territorial form of government and on the 5th of April, 1851, the General Assembly of the State of Deseret\* was dissolved, and the State merged into the Territory of Utah.

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\*Among the more important of the many acts of the Provisional Assembly may be mentioned the creation of Salt Lake, Weber, Utah, Sanpete, Juab, and

Governor Young issued a proclamation on the 1st of July, 1851, calling for the election of a Territorial Legislature, and for a Delegate to Congress, the election to be held on the first Monday of August. Since he was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he established three Indian Agencies. On the 8th of August, by virtue of the authority given him in the organic act, he defined three judicial districts, assigning a judge to each, and naming the time and place of holding court. At the election, Dr. Bernhisel was chosen delegate, and was the first man to represent Utah in Congress.

Judges Brandebury\* and Snow came to Salt Lake City in the summer, but Judge Brocchus did not arrive until August. There was only small remuneration in a Utah judgeship in those days. It is said that Judge Brocchus came west with a view of being returned to Congress by the Mormons, and was greatly disappointed when he learned that a Delegate had already been elected. However this may be, he soon became dissatisfied with his position, and succeeded also in disaffecting Judge Brandebury and Secretary D. B. Harris, and in creating a breach which may be said to be the beginning of the long controversy between the federal judges and the Mormons.

At a special conference of the Church, held early in September, the federal officials, Mormon and Gentile, all being assigned a place on the stand with President

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Tooele counties, and the granting of a charter to the University of Deseret, in the winter of 1849-50; and the passing of ordinances incorporating Great Salt Lake City (January 9th), Ogden City, the City of Manti, Provo City and Parowan City (February 6th), and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in 1851 (February 8th).

\*Joseph Buffington declined to serve as Chief Justice, and so Lemuel H. Brandebury was appointed in his stead.

Young and the leaders in the community, were invited to be present. The object of inviting them was doubtless to encourage harmony and good feeling between them and the community. They all attended, but the dissatisfied Judge Brocchus, when invited to speak, took occasion to harangue the people for two hours relative to their disloyalty and demerits, drifting at length into the subject of polygamy, and insulting the ladies by reference to their lack of chastity, expressing a hope that they would "become virtuous." These base and groundless insinuations were more than the congregation could bear, and the speaker was hooted, and would doubtless have been severely punished by the exasperated citizens, had it not been that the Governor held them in restraint.

Before dismissing the meeting, President Young severely rebuked the Judge, however, declaring him to be "either profoundly ignorant or perversely wicked." Subsequently, the Judge was cordially invited to attend a meeting where he would be given an opportunity to retract his offensive remarks, which the legal gentleman flatly refused to do. Then followed a long correspondence between the two on the subject, published in the *New York Herald*, in which President Young so severely scored the official that the latter at length made no further reply, but, privately acknowledging his defeat, authorized the Governor to apologize for him to the community. The whole affair created a great sensation over Utah, in the East, being there thoroughly ventilated by Jedediah M. Grant, Mayor of Salt Lake City, in a series of pungent letters published in pamphlet form, and scattered broadcast.

Soon after this episode, Governor Young was informed that the Secretary, together with Judges Brande-

bury and Brocchus, intended to return to Washington. This they did, setting forth on their journey on September 28th, Secretary Harris carrying with him the Territorial seal, the records and documents, as well as the \$24,000.00 which had been appropriated by Congress for the *per diem* and mileage of the Legislature, all of which were returned to the proper national authorities.

The "runaway judges and secretary," for so they were called, duly reported their labors, taking care to say that they were compelled to leave Utah on account of the lawless acts and seditious tendencies of Brigham Young and the majority of the citizens. It is recorded by Mr. Stenhouse that this trio, in addition to their report, said that "polygamy monopolized all the women, which made it very inconvenient for the federal officers to reside there." This so disgusted the Government and Congress that Daniel Webster, who was then Secretary of State, orderd the officials back to their deserted posts, or to resign. They chose the latter and were thus forced to retire. They had not looked for such an outcome. About this time grave charges were circulated in the press about the character of Governor Young, and harsh things were said against the President for appointing him. Col. Thomas L. Kane did good service for Governor Young, who was thus attacked in the *Buffalo Courier*. The article was sent to President Fillmore, who demanded an explanation from Col. Kane, since he had endorsed the gubernatorial appointment. The Colonel replied as follows to the President:

"I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character of Mr. Brigham Young, of Utah, and his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate, without reserve, the statement of his excellent

capacity, energy and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you the facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism, and devotion to the interests of the Union. I made no qualification when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate personal knowledge.

"If any show or shadow of evidence can be adduced in support of the charges of your anonymous assailant, the next mail from Utah shall bring you their complete and circumstantial refutation. Meanwhile I am ready to offer this assurance for publication in any form you care to indicate, and challenge contradiction from any respectable authority."

Other officers were selected by Governor Young to fill temporarily the vacancies occasioned by the "runaways," and he made a full explanation of the affair to the President of the United States. In August, 1852, followed the appointment of new officers as follows: Lazarus H. Reed, Chief Justice; Leonidas Shaver, Associate Justice; Benjamin G. Ferris, Secretary. Judge Snow served out his term.

The next federal officials were Chief Justice John F. Kinney, August 24th, 1853; Associate Justice George P. Stiles, August 1st, 1854; Judge W. W. Drummond, September 12th, 1854. The latter two were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the egregious blunder known as the "Utah War."

## 5. LEADING EVENTS OF THE TERM.

Thus we have a faint political outline of the first term of Brigham Young's incumbency as Governor. From 1850 to 1854 many significant events occurred in the local history of the people, in all of which the wisdom and the directing mind of the great leader were manifest. Little was done without his counsel, and he was not only adviser and director, but he was the inaugurator of the most important movements for the public welfare.

One of these was the petition for a railroad. As before mentioned, the Saints did not seek isolation that they might build up an independent nation; they rather sought relief from persecution in temporary although compulsory separation. Never did they falter in their fealty, nor seek to be anything other than loyal Americans, with hearts set for their country's prosperity and good. They sought to be one with the people of the Union, and desired a closer communion with them. To this end, as early as March 3rd, 1852, the Governor and Legislative Assembly of Utah petitioned Congress for the construction of a national central railroad to the Pacific coast, also for a telegraph line. The closing words of their memorial are: "The road therein proposed would be a perpetual chain or iron band which would effectually hold together our glorious Union, with an imperishable identity of mutual interest, thereby consolidating our relations with foreign powers in times of peace, and our defense from foreign invasion by the speedy transmission of troops and supplies in times of war. The earnest attention of Congress to this important subject is solicited by your memorialists, who in duty bound will ever pray."

When Dr. Bernhisel submitted the memorial to

Congress, he was smiled at, and told that he was far ahead of this age. He replied by humorously inviting his colleagues to take a ride over the road when it should be completed, and visit him in Salt Lake City. Twenty years later, some of them actually came to Salt Lake City, an accomplishment doubtless more hurriedly made possible by the petitions and the assistance of the Mormons.

Again, in Governor Young's message to the Legislature, December 12, 1853, he devotes much space in urging the building of a Pacific railroad. He said: "We recognize in the Pacific Railway a work worthy the attention of a great and enterprising people; and pass where it will, we cannot fail to be benefited by it. Its accomplishment cannot fail by reason of furnishing so rapid a conveyance, to carry influence and power from one extremity of the Union to the other, and make her the arbiter of the world. \* \* \* I have therefore thought proper to call your attention to the subject, hoping that the interest which is known to exist in favor of this route, will not permit it to suffer for the want of proper representation to Congress." Then followed a great mass meeting on January, 1854, in which the people took steps to memorialize Congress for the construction of a railway via Salt Lake to the Pacific. In 1869 the hopes of the citizens were realized, and Brigham Young lived to aid in the construction of the great highway.

During the four years referred to, the growth and extension of the cities and villages continued. Dramatic and educational interests were encouraged. Public buildings and stores were erected. Grist and saw mills were busy in all parts. Home manufacturing institutions sprang up in various places, encouraged by legislative

appropriation and protection. President Young was deeply interested in this subject, as in the progress of all the material interests of the country. In his legislative message of January, 1852, he said: "Deplorable indeed must be the situation of that people whose sons are not trained in the practice of every useful avocation, and whose daughters mingle not in the hive of industry. Produce what you consume; draw from the native elements the necessities of life; permit no vitiated taste to lead you into indulgence of expensive luxuries, which can only be obtained by involving yourselves in debt. Let home industry produce every article of home consumption."

On the 6th of April, 1853, the corner stone of the now completed great temple was laid by President Young assisted by his counselors, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards; forty years later, April 6th, 1893, the building was dedicated by President Wilford Woodruff, assisted by his counselors, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith.\*

Colonization was continued. At the October conference, 1853, many were called to strengthen the settlements in Iron, Tooele, Sanpete, Box Elder and Juab counties.

The Indian question called for careful diplomacy. The first troubles with the red men occurred in 1850-1. Then followed a period of peace until 1853, when the Ute war broke out. The conflict was doubtless instigated by

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\* An incident in connection with the breaking of the ground for the foundation is worthy of mention. This work was done in February, the President being present. The ground was frozen, and hence broke in a large crust. As the men were raising the first piece of earth a silver dollar fell upon it. The sight of coin in those days was a rarity, and the appearance of the silver at the time and place, contributed doubtless by an unknown witness of the proceedings, was considered a good omen.

New Mexican traders, who came to Utah and supplied the Indians with firearms, ammunition, horses, etc., taking in exchange Indian women and children who were subsequently sold into slavery.

Governor Young proclaimed against this practices and from his message to the Legislature we learn his views on slavery: "My own feelings are that no property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, either Indian or African." The slave traders did not fancy this declaration, and other opposition of a similar nature. They became revengeful, and stirred up the savages, against the residents of Utah. Other causes of the war there doubtless were. One of these was the unwise and wicked course of passing emigrants, who often shot the Indians without cause. The war began in Payson on the 18th of July, and spread from there to many parts of the Territory. Col. George A. Smith was given command of the militia south of Salt Lake City, and his instructions for the defense of the settlements plainly outline the Indian policy of Governor Young: All the inhabitants were to be gathered into forts, their stock coralled, and surrounded with armed guards. A conciliatory course towards the red men was to be maintained, and no offensive warfare or acts of retaliation were to be permitted. Vigilant watch was to be kept, and if Indians were caught committing depredations they were to be punished. The people were to look out for surprises, keep in after dark, keep themselves secure, and not permit any sense of security to lull them into a spirit of carelessness. It took a great deal of sacrifice to carry these instructions into effect, but where this was not done, it generally ended in more loss than would have been realized if the wise counsel of the Governor had been followed. One

settlement in Sanpete was slow in getting ready. The result was that two hundred head of their cattle were run off by the Indians. The people sent a messenger to the Governor to report the affair and to get his advice. His reply was: "Inasmuch as you have no oxen and cows to trouble you, you can go to harvesting and take care of yourselves."

Shortly after the breaking out of hostilities Governor Young sent Chief Walker the following letter, strongly breathing the spirit of his life-long policy toward the red men: "It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them," a motto which experience proved to be correct, and which has saved much property and many lives in Utah:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, JULY 25, 1853.

*Captain Walker:*

I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, for we are the best friends, and the only friends you have in the world. Every body else would kill you if they could get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly Indian down to the settlements and we will give you some beef-cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco which I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first, and then you will know that it is good. When you get good-natured again I would like to see you. Don't you think you would be ashamed? You know that I have always been your best friend.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Governor Young, in a tour of the south, in the spring of 1854, made it a point to obtain a meeting with Chief Walker and some of the native tribes. Presents were distributed and the pipe of peace was passed around. He succeeded by wise diplomacy in effecting a treaty

with the savages, which ended the trouble. As a result of the conflict, about twenty whites, and a large number of Indians, were killed, while the people and the territory together suffered a loss of about \$300,000.

Chief Walker died in January, 1855, urging upon his braves to live in peace with the Mormons, whom he had truly learned to regard as his friends.

With the chief were buried two others, who had been killed, as was the custom, to be his companions to the happy hunting grounds. This reminds us of an incident which occurred in one of President Young's travels. He, with his train of thirty carriages, had been on a visit south, and returning were met by bands of Walker's Indians, who showed signs of an attack. They drew their bows, gesticulating and yelling, until it was considered unsafe to continue. Walker was encamped across the valley about sixteen miles south of Nephi. President Young ordered his carriages to cross directly over to the Indian camp, and his whole train drove directly into it, settled down and stayed for the night. It happened that Walker had a very sick child, that the medicine man had given up to die. To the interpreter Chief Walker said he wished a white man out of President Young's party to accompany the child through the valley of death. Remonstrated with, he became more emphatic in his demands, when the interpreter went to the President and told him what was wanted. Going to the chief, President Young told him to send away his medicine man, he was no good. He then asked permission to administer to the child, which was granted. The child was immediately healed, and doubtless grew up to be a true brave. President Young's party were allowed to proceed unmolested, and the incident created a lasting

favorable impression in the mind of the Indian chief, who was thereafter more friendly than ever before.

The practice of polygamy among the Mormons was not generally made known until the year 1852. At a conference of the Church, in Salt Lake City, on the 29th day of August, it was first publicly avowed. The system of a plurality of wives was long before this time practiced by the Saints, in Nauvoo, Winter Quarters and in Utah. The revelation on celestial marriage was given to Joseph the Prophet, July 12th, 1843, but it was not made public generally until this August day, when it was read to the Saints, who accepted it as the word of God, and as a tenet of their faith. Then followed the promulgation of the doctrine by missionaries to the whole world. Afterward it became the leading question for contention between the officers of the government and the Mormons, until the practice was finally suspended by a manifesto of President Wilford Woodruff, dated September 24th, 1890. At the following October Conference the Church accepted his declaration concerning plural marriages as authoritative and binding, and the doctrine is now neither taught nor practiced. Whatever may be said on the subject, Brigham Young was a firm believer in the doctrine, and, as in other matters, showed his faith by his works. To him its practice was a duty which he felt as incumbent upon him as any other of the teachings or revelations of the Prophet Joseph. In its practice, as in all things else, he followed the program outlined by his prophet leader, and he was honest therein.

## 6. REAPPOINTED GOVERNOR.

Politically, the years 1852-3 were not of great interest. At the approach of the expiration of Governor Young's term of office, President Franklin Pierce was asked to re-appoint him, but, owing doubtless to the evil imputations against his character, circulated by Secretary Ferris and others, the President at first declined to do so.

In August, 1854, Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe arrived in Utah, with a detachment of troops, on his way to California. To him the President tendered the Governorship of Utah. The Colonel respectfully declined the honor, and, with leading citizens of the Territory, memorialized the President to re-appoint Governor Young to that office. The petition sets forth that "he is decidedly the most suitable person that can be selected." He possesses the entire confidence of the people of the Territory, without regard to party or sect; is "a tried pillar of Republican institutions," a "warm friend and able supporter of constitutional liberty," and "he possesses in an eminent degree every qualification necessary for the discharge of his official duties," both as Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

This memorial, signed alike by leading Mormons and Gentiles, army officers and federal officials, was forwarded to Washington in December, and resulted in the re-appointment of Brigham Young as Governor.

No better selection could have been made. The Founder of Utah was a good Governor, and his peoples' interests, as well as those of the Territory and nation, had been faithfully served by him. He may have taken vigorous action in the execution of certain ideas of his

own that displeased or offended his enemies, but in his day, and with his surroundings, such a course was necessary. "Had Brigham Young been otherwise than as God and nature made him, could he have done so well the work assigned him by destiny? Do weak men conduct exodus and conquer deserts? Do they hold in check the merciless savage, build cities and temples and enthrone civilization in the midst of solitude and sterility? Utah's great pioneer was a man of iron. He had to be, in order that his work might not be poorly or but partly done. And yet he possessed—what no tyrant ever did—the love of his people, to a marvelous degree. No despot was ever loved like Brigham Young. No leader at his death was ever more sincerely mourned by his followers. It was not a 'trembling submission' that was paid to him in life; it was not an affected sorrow that was manifested at his death. They regarded him as a prophet, it is true; but they also knew him to be a superior man, and loved and trusted him accordingly."\*

If Governor Young had shown what some of the federal officials called disrespect to federal authority, it was because of the worthlessness of the government's representatives.† There were noteworthy exceptions, and they were generally in harmony with the Governor, sent to Utah to uphold the majesty of the law, and not

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\*Whitney's History of Utah, p. 535, Vol. 1.

†Speaking of the federal judges, up to and including Drummond, Bancroft, in his History of Utah, says, page 492: "If it was true that the magistrates appointed by the United States were held in contempt, there was sufficient provocation. Two of them, as we have seen, deserted their post, a third was probably an opium ea'er, a fourth a drunkard, a fifth a gambler and a lecher."

because he disregarded the institutions or laws of his country. These he ever honored and upheld. He was the means of instituting such order and justice in Utah, in his day, as were never equalled in any other western State or Territory in our frontier history.

"Possessing unbounded influence, he used his power most temperately, and his whole aim was to promote the welfare of the people."\* He had his faults, but his personal reputation was above reproach; like all strong and great men, he had bitter enemies, but the unerring judgment of time will prove that they were wrong and he was right, for truth triumphs in the end.

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#### 7. THE CALAMITIES OF 1856.

The people of Utah were subjected to a period of want, in the early months of 1856, caused by the previous season's crop being destroyed by grasshoppers and drouth. Besides the winter of 1855-6 was very severe, causing death to thousands of cattle, thus adding to the hardships endured by the settlers. Even the most well-to-do were compelled to add sego and thistle roots, and other wild plants, to their scanty rations of meal and vegetables. For some years President Young had advised the people to store grain and provisions in the days of plenty against a time of scarcity. When the calamity was approaching he said in a sermon: "For one, I have seen months and months in this city when I could have wept like a whipped child to see the awful stupidity of the people in not realizing the blessings

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\*Cannon's History of the Mormons, p. 6.

bestowed upon them in grain; I could have wept to see this people trample on the mercies of their benefactor in bestowing the fruits of the earth upon them in such plenty. If the Lord is now disposed to teach us a lesson, and make us thereby wise men and wise women, and prudent in all our ways, all I have to say is, amen, it is all right."

But some had heeded his advice, among whom were many of the leaders, who were thus prepared to help in the hour of need, while others had ignored the counsel. Had it not been for the aid which the leaders rendered, and the community of feeling prompting to liberality and sameness, the condition of the destitute would have been appalling; but all shared alike, and to their lasting credit be it said that succor was not withheld from the poor and hungry multitude, who were often fed without price.

Besides sharing freely what he had with the Saints, President Young devised various plans to engage labor for the people, in manufacturing and mining enterprises. He encouraged the people to work and be happy, and resign themselves to the will of God. He urged them to plant and sow and to be just as satisfied if they raised nothing as if they raised an abundance. This course, he said would reconcile them to the providences of the Almighty, and in this they would find happiness, even in severest adversity.

To add to their troubles, the Indians, becoming hungry and mean, precipitated another war, which was known as the Tintic war. It caused the death of twelve of the settlers in Utah. Indian depredations on the plains were also numerous that year.

But the year's greatest calamity befel the late hand-

cart companies. There were in all five companies of emigrating Saints, mostly from England, who had decided to cross the plains on foot that year, traversing deserts, wading rivers, climbing mountains, a distance of thirteen hundred miles to Salt Lake City. Three companies arrived in the valley after a three months' journey, comparatively in good condition; but the last two were caught in the snows and the storms of an early winter. After suffering starvation and untold hardships their remnants finally arrived in the valley, the last delayed company, composed of six hundred persons, having lost more than one-fourth of their numbers by death. All would have shared the same fate save for the promptness of President Young in organizing parties which were sent to their relief. His actions, in this matter, earned the plaudits of friend and foe alike. It was at the October Conference that he first heard of their plight. His son Joseph A. was sent to their assistance, with orders to take all the provisions, clothing and vehicles he could obtain, and press on to the rescue. Writing on the subject after, Mr. John Chislett, in his description of the handcart companies, says: "Brigham at once suspended all conference business, and declared that nothing further should be done until every available team was started out to meet us. He set the example by sending several of his best mule teams, laden with provisions. Heber C. Kimball did the same, and hundreds of others followed their noble example. People who had come from distant parts of the Territory to attend conference volunteered to go out to meet us, and went at once. The people who had no teams gave freely of provisions, bedding, etc., all doing their best to help us."

## 8. THE UTAH WAR.

While these disasters fell upon the people at home, there were agencies at work which were to result in still additional trouble. These were nothing less than misrepresentations of enemies, which ended at length in the sending of an army to Utah to quell an imaginary rebellion.

One of the agents that helped to bring about the Utah war, or Buchanan's Expedition, was a mail contractor named W. F. M. Magraw, who had been conducting a service to Salt Lake City from Missouri. On the 3rd of October, 1856, he sent a letter to President James Buchanan, in which he makes some unsupported assertions of Mormon treason, tyranny, rapine, indiscriminate bloodshed, robbery, etc. The reason assigned for his writing was "to prevent, if possible, scenes of lawlessness, which, I fear, will be inevitable unless speedy and powerful preventatives are applied." But evidently the real cause of his fear was that a Mormon, Mr. Hiram Kimball had been awarded the government mail contract over his former route.

Added to this, and like a link in a chain of seeming conspiracy, followed the resignation of Judge W. W. Drummond, dated March 30, 1857. It must be remembered that after the "runaway judges" had gone to Washington, Judge Snow was left alone to conduct the business of the courts. He was overcrowded with work, and to lighten his burdens the legislature, in 1852, passed an act giving the probate courts "power to exercise original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and as well in chancery as in common law, when not prohibited by legislative enactment." Up to the time that Associate

Justice Stiles and Drummond were appointed, in the fall of 1854, the district judges had tacitly admitted the jurisdiction of the probate courts, and even confirmed their jurisdiction; but these new judges made a direct issue by ignoring the authority of the lower courts and their officials, declaring that the powers granted to them by the act of 1852 were of no effect.\* Judge Drummond asserted that the laws of the Territory were founded in ignorance, and he sought to abrogate some of the most important of them. This same judge came to Utah with a harlot, whom he seated by his side on the judicial bench, leaving a wife and family unsupported in Illinois. He was indignantly opposed to the peculiar institution of the "ignorant and unvirtuous Mormons," whose family system of a plurality of wives was to them a part of their religion. He was a worthless man. In the history of Utah, Mr. H. H. Bancroft says of him: "Gambler and bully, he openly avowed that he had come to Utah to make money, and in the presence of the Chief Justice declared, 'Money is my God.' When first he appeared in court, he insulted the community by mocking at their laws and institutions. \* \* \* He also declared that he would set aside the finding of the probate courts in all cases other than those which lay strictly within their jurisdiction."

For these moral reasons, no less than for his judicial course, he became very unpopular, concluding at length to leave his post. Pretending to depart for the purpose of holding court in Carson County, now Nevada, he went home instead by way of California, where he wrote his

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\*The complications thus arising were continued for twenty years, until Congress settled the matter by passing the Poland Bill, June 23, 1874.

resignation to the Attorney-General, also a letter giving his reasons for taking such a step. In this communication, he conjures up many wicked lies and groundless accusations. He says, among other things, that "there is a secret oath-bound organization among all the male members of the Church to resist the laws of the country.

\* \* \* There is a set of men, set apart by special order of the Church, to take both the lives and property of persons who may question the authority of the Church. \* \* \* The records, papers, etc., of the Supreme Court have been destroyed by order of the Church, with the direct knowledge and approbation of Governor B. Young, and the federal officers grossly insulted for presuming to raise a single question about the treasonable act.

\* \* \* The federal officers of the Territory are constantly insulted, harassed, and annoyed by the Mormons, and for these insults there is no redress. \* \* \* The federal officers are daily compelled to hear the forms of the American Government traduced, the chief executives of the nation, both living and dead, slandered and abused from the masses, as well as from all the leading members of the Church, in the most vulgar, loathsome and wicked manner that the evil passions of men can possibly conceive."

He then, besides, charges the Governor with improperly pardoning criminals, and advising jurors beforehand, so that no charges but his are obeyed. The murder of Captain Gunnison and others he lays to the Mormons; the judiciary, he considers, is treated as a farce, the "officers are insulted, harassed and murdered for doing their duty." In closing, he suggests that, "if there was a man put in office as Governor of that territory, who is not a member of the Church (Mormon),

and he supported with a sufficient military aid, much good would result from such a course."

As soon as these charges were made known in Utah, they were duly answered and shown to be false; but it appears, nevertheless, from subsequent events, that his evil reports were believed, acted upon, and were the basis upon which the President committed his great blunder in sending an army to Utah.

There was another alleged aggravation which is referred to in connection with the war. President Young had contemplated the establishment of a great carrying company, between the Missouri and the Great Basin, to promote emigration to the west, and commercial intercourse and rapid mail communication between the east and the isolated Saints. This projected company was organized in January, 1856, when the enterprise was set on foot. The Government mail contract, which Mr. Kimball had received, became the basis of its operations, since President Young was desirous that all diligence should be used in keeping faith with the Government. Stations were now established at convenient distances across the plains; at great expense. But no sooner were these settlements formed than the Indian agents in the neighborhood, possibly fearing the limitation of their trade with the savages, construed their erection as an invasion of the Indian lands. Then followed letters to the Indian Department at Washington, with exaggerated complaints of this Mormon invasion.

In addition to these accusations, the federal officials contributed, by letters and affidavits, in creating prejudice against the people. Governor Young was charged with dishonesty in Indian affairs, and with expending improperly the Government funds appropriated for the

Indians. Many other trivial complaints, false as they were trivial, were set afloat, among which was the absurd charge, still believed by the ignorant, that he read all the letters that came to or went out of Utah.

Upon these false or grossly exaggerated charges and complaints, President Buchanan, led also, it has been said, by a rebellious desire to scatter the forces of the Union, in case of a rupture with the South on the slavery question, which was then the burning topic of the day, without further investigation, decided that a rebellion existed in Utah; and he took steps to invade the Territory with the United States army, the plan being to keep the Mormons in ignorance of the proposed invasion. Accordingly, Brigham Young was superceded as Governor by Alfred Cumming, who was to be installed and maintained in place by the force which was ordered to march to Salt Lake City, ostensibly as posse comitatus, to sustain his authority.

An army of 2,500 well-equipped men was ordered to march to the Territory, under command of Brigadier-General W. S. Harney, who was afterward succeeded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. General Harney, under date of June 29, 1857, was thoroughly instructed as to how to proceed. His soldiers were made to believe that a genuine rebellion existed, and with this understanding began their march. As stated, the Mormons were not aware of the approach of the army. There had been no mail to Utah from the east for upwards of six months, owing to Mr. Magraw's failure to close his contract.

Agents of the Young Express Company, who had now taken the first mail to Missouri from Salt Lake City, on the Kimball contract, were the first to learn definitely of the proposed expedition, since the postal agent at

Independance, declined to deliver the return mails for Salt Lake City to them, stating that he had instructions from Washington to that effect. A rumor that the Government had ordered an army to Utah, that Brigham Young had been superceded as Governor, and that a full set of officials were accompanying the troops to Salt Lake City, had reached the agents before, and they had now seemingly obtained an official confirmation. It was then that they decided to break up the various stations of the express company, and take the property with them to the west. This they did, reaching Fort Laramie July 17th. Here it was decided to leave a portion of the party to take charge of and bring forward the property, while Messrs. A. O. Smoot, Judson Stoddard, and Orin Porter Rockwell, were selected to press on in advance to the Valley to tell the news. They reached Salt Lake City on the evening of July 23rd, having made the distance, five hundred miles, in five days and three hours.

The next day was Pioneer Day, July 24th. The alleged rebellious Mormons, with song and dance and innocent amusement, were celebrating their advent into the Valley ten years before. The main body of celebrators had chosen a spot for this purpose at the head of Big Cottonwood Canyon, near a beautiful lake in the Wasatch mountains. Here they patriotically hoisted the good old flag, rejoicing under its folds, little dreaming that their country was in arms against them. The amusements were at their height on that beautiful July morning, when the three before-mentioned travel-stained messengers eagerly made their way up the canyon road to the merry camp. They went direct to the tent of President Young, and informed him of the startling news. He faced the fact with that resoluteness and coolness

that were characteristic of his great mind—that stamped him with the seal of greatness. He deliberately called a council of the leading Elders, presenting the subject before them in a few words. No excitement prevailed, and it was not until time for evening prayers that the whole camp were informed of the character of the alarming message conveyed by the travelers. In addressing the people, the President said: "Liars have reported that this people have committed treason, and upon their misrepresentations the President has ordered out troops to assist in officering this Territory. If those officers are like many who have previously been sent here, and we have reason to believe they are, or they would not come where they know they are not wanted, they are poor, broken-down political hacks, not fit for the civilized society whence they came, and so they are dragooned upon us for officers. \* \* \* I feel that I won't bear such treatment, \* \* \* for we are just as free as the mountain air. \* \* \* This people are free; they are not in bondage to any government on God's foot-stool. We have transgressed no law, neither do we intend to do so; but as for any nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper it shall not be."

While it was the seeming aim of the Government to use the army only for sustaining the civil officers, President Young's experience with military bodies in Missouri and Illinois, had led him to lose confidence in their asserted designs, and to be suspicious of their intents. Besides, why had not the officers been sent without the army? There had been no resistance to the civil authorities heretofore, why was it now necessary to put them in place with the aid of troops? The real

object was evidently hidden. It was the extermination of the Mormons, the spoliation of their homes and possessions, their complete annihilation. So thought Brigham Young, and he dealt accordingly with the stubborn facts as they presented themselves. He was not willing to witness over again the scenes of Far West and Nauvoo, and so decided to resist the army, at least to begin with, until the Government might awaken to its folly; if that failed, then to lay waste the country as when he found it, and seek elsewhere for home, peace and liberty. Hence some of his remarks to his people, in his sermons:

"They say that the coming of their army is legal, and I say it is not. \* \* \* I am not going to permit troops here for the protection of the priests and the rabble in their efforts to drive us from the land we possess. \* \* \* I am sworn, if driven to extremity, to utterly lay waste this land in the name of Israel's God, and our enemies shall find it as barren as when we came here."

And the design would have been carried out, had it been found necessary.

On September 17th, the Governor declared the Territory under martial law, and forbade any armed force from entering it under any pretense whatever. At the same time, he sent a messenger east to Col. Thomas L. Kane, with a document in which he explained to the national authorities his motives in taking this step. He hoped by this means that they might be led to see the error and make an amicable adjustment of the difficulty. Col. Kane was asked to see the President and lay the matter before him.

The army, under Col. Johnston, left Leavenworth on the 17th of September, reaching Fort Laramie October

5th. From this point on they met resistance. The Nauvoo Legion was thoroughly organized under command of Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Wells, and by order of Governor Young took the field to prevent the entrance of the troops into the Valley. Then followed the Echo Canyon campaign, in which nearly 2,500 men, young and old, gathered to confront the invading army; the burning of Fort Bridger and its supplies; and the destruction by fire of the Government trains by Lot Smith. Finally the invading troops, crippled, starved and frozen, were forced to go into winter quarters on Black's Fork; discouraged and well-nigh annihilated, and that without the shedding of blood, it was plain to them that their expedition was a failure. Excepting a guard, the Utah militia returned to their homes early in December. So matters rested until spring, when it was fully expected that the conflict would begin anew. To this end preparations went on in Utah.\* Governor Young, in his message to the legislature, referred at length to the situation, justifying his course, in which that body acquiesced. The citizens and the legislature, in January, 1858, memorialized Congress and the President, setting forth the true state of affairs in Utah, and asking for constitutional rights.

At Washington public sentiment was greatly excited against the Mormons; but many of the nation's leading papers and citizens were no less unstinted in their

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\*Mingling with the song of joy, the paean of praise, welling up from the hearts of a people who felt as sensibly as did Israel of old after passing the Red Sea, that Jehovah had delivered His people and engulfed their foes could be heard the clink of steel, the sound of hammer and forge, and other notes of 'dreadful preparation,' fashioning weapons for the coming conflict, as fully expected as it was thoroughly unfeared"—Whitney's History of Utah, Vol 1. p. 662.

condemnation of the President and his cabinet for compelling the Saints to assume the position they had taken, and for deciding upon mere hearsay that they were in rebellion. The President began to see his blunder, and seemed anxious to rectify his error, as far as it could be done without the loss of dignity.

About this time Col. Kane visited Washington, offering his services to President Buchanan, as mediator in the pending quarrel, with a view to having the controversy peaceably settled. This he did upon request of President Young, made the summer before. The result was his appointment to Utah, as private envoy of the Government. Purely instigated by humanitarian motives, he departed to fill his difficult mission, sailing from New York, January 5th, 1858, and arriving by way of San Francisco in Salt Lake City on the 25th of February following.

Having been ushered into the presence of Governor Young, he stated his errand and asked for a private interview which was granted. He learned that Governor Young was willing as ever to receive loyally the new Governor without the army; but was not willing that the troops should accompany him or be quartered in any city or settlement of the Territory.

After a few day's rest, Col. Kane departed over the deep snows to consult with Governor Cumming at Black's Fork. The new Governor was willing to accede to the arrangements, convinced as he was of the wisdom of the ambassador's course; and he therefore left with Col. Kane and two servants for Salt Lake City, being escorted by Utah cavalry after leaving the federal lines. Arriving in Salt Lake City on the 12th of April, he was there, as everywhere on the way, treated with great

respect, and acknowledged as Governor. This arrangement did not please General Johnston, who seemed desirous to fight, but the counsels of peace prevailed nevertheless, not however without some trouble which ended in lasting enmity between the Governor and the General. Upon the arrival of the new Governor, he and President Brigham Young had a very cordial meeting, and the former was duly installed in his new position.

His noble peace mission now ended, Col. Kane returned to report his success in Washington.\*

President Young had said to Captain Van Vliet, the first Government representative who came to Utah on the war question, when that official referred to the ability of the Government to send enough reinforcements to overcome all opposition: "We are aware that such will be the case, but when those troops arrive they will find Utah a desert." There were now two reasons why the great Mormon leader was preparing to keep his word: first, he had no faith in the promises of the army: "You might as well tell me that you can make hell into a powder house as to tell me that they intend to keep an army here and have peace." Secondly, he wished to attract the attention of the world to the sacrifice and the wrongs inflicted upon his people, in order to change public opinion in their

\* "Some years later General Kane,—for he was then a General, having been promoted for gallant service in defence of the Union during the Civil War,—again visited Utah and for several months was the guest of President Young. On more than one occasion, in the east, he valiently used pen and tongue in behalf of the territory and its people. His name is a household word in a multitude of homes in the Rocky Mountains, and his pure example of friendship and patriotism will ever burn brightly, a beacon and a guiding star, before the eyes of Utah's sons and daughters."—Whitney's History of Utah. Vol. 1., p. 674.

favor. It was indeed a marvelous sight. Thirty thousand people about to leave their homes, so dearly earned, with guards left to fire them, if the hostile army should invade their land. It was not long till the press of the nation and of Europe saw their heroism and devotion, and declared that sincerity thus attested is not a thing to be sneered at. The tide had turned.

The Governorship was now disposed of. What was to be done with the army? Evidently the Mormons thought it would invade their cities, and hence the move south. The new Governor strove in vain to induce the people to remain and to return to their homes. Though he pled with them as a father, they would not believe him when he insisted that there was no longer any danger, and promised them protection. Said President Young: "We know all about it, Governor. We have on just such occasions seen our disarmed men hewn down in cold blood, our virgin daughters violated, our wives ravished to death before our eyes. We know all about it, Governor Cumming."

Three weeks after his arrival Governor Cumming made a report to the Secretary of State, Lewis M. Cass setting forth the true condition of affairs in Utah. His report gives the lie to all the accusations of Judge Drummond, and he declared that Governor Young "evinced a willingness to afford me every facility I may require for the efficient performance of my administrative duties." Referring to the "move," he said: "The people, including the inhabitants of this city, are moving from every settlement in the northern part of the Territory. The roads are everywhere filled with wagons loaded with provisions and household furniture, the

women and children often without shoes and hats, driving their flocks they know not where. They seem not only resigned but cheerful. 'It is the will of the Lord,' and they rejoice to exchange the comforts of home for the trials of the wilderness. Their ultimate destination is not, I presume, definitely fixed upon. 'Going south, seems sufficiently definite for the most of them, but many believe that their ultimate destination is Sonora. Young, Kimball, and most of the influential men have left their commodious mansions without apparent regret, to lengthen the long train of wanderers. The masses everywhere announce to me that the torch will be applied to every house indiscriminately throughout the country' so soon as the troops attempt to cross the mountains."

In the meantime a peace commission, sent by President Buchanan to treat with the Mormons, met with President Young and his associates, who had returned from the south to Salt Lake for that purpose on the 11th and 12th of June. These commissioners had a full and free pardon to offer to the people, for past seditions and treasons. In reply, President Young stated his position as follows:

"I thank President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I really cannot tell what I have done. I know one thing, and that is, that the people called Mormons are a loyal and law-abiding people, and have ever been. Neither President Buchanan nor any one else can contradict the statement. It is true Lot Smith burned some wagons containing government supplies for the army. This was an overt act, and if it is for this that we are to be pardoned, I accept the pardon. \* \* \* Now let me say to you Peace Commissioners, we are willing those troops should come into our country, but not to stay in

our city. They may pass through it, if needs be, but must not quarter less than forty miles from us. If you bring your troops here to disturb this people, you have got a bigger job than you or President Buchanan have any idea of. Before the troops reach here this city will be in ashes, every tree and shrub will be cut to the ground, and every blade of grass that will burn shall be burned. Our wives and children will go to the canyons, and take shelter in the mountains, while their husbands and sons will fight you; and, as God lives, we will hunt you by night and by day, until your armies are wasted away. No mob can live in the homes we have built in these mountains. That's the program, gentlemen, whether you like it or not. If you want war, you can have it; but if you wish peace, peace it is; we shall be glad of it."

The army entered Salt Lake Valley June 26th, deeply moved by the desolation which they witnessed all about them. One month prior to this time Mrs. Cumming, on entering the city, was so moved by the sight that she burst into tears of sympathy for the migrating Saints.

The troops, true to their pledge, preserved excellent order, and marched to Cedar Valley, thirty-six miles south of Salt Lake City, where they founded Camp Floyd, and where they remained until 1860, at which time the majority were called to Arizona and New Mexico. During their stay, the fear of Brigham Young was shown not to be entirely groundless, for on several occasions they showed their hatred to the Mormons, and there were some instances of gross misconduct on their part. The Camp was abandoned in 1861, when the remnant of the soldiers went east to participate in the

Civil War. Colonel Johnston, who had denounced the loyal Saints as rebels, taking sides with the South became himself a rebel.

Early in July, 1858, President Young and the Mormon leaders returned to their homes followed later by the whole community who now came back to re-inhabit their cities and habitations which had been placed upon the altar of sacrifice but this time not required of them.

So ended the Utah War. It was "an ill-advised measure," says the historian Bancroft, "on the part of the United States Government. The Utah War cost several hundred lives and at least \$15,000,000 at a time in the nation's history when men and money could least be spared, and accomplished practically nothing save that it exposed the President and his Cabinet to much well-deserved ridicule."

Through the wise manipulations and the consummate strategy of President Young the Mormons won through it the respect and esteem of a large portion of the outside world and a thousand favorable echoes from the press which recognized the bravery and patriotism of the inhabitants of Utah.

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#### 9. BRIGHAM YOUNG'S LOYALTY AND ENTERPRISE.

"We have always been loyal and expect so to continue," said the Mormon leader to the Peace Commissioners. But notwithstanding the assertion and the practice as well, there seems to have prevailed a contrary idea in the minds of certain missionary judges and some Governors who came to "regenerate" Utah—after this period. These would not so consider the people or

their leader. Perhaps their sentiments in this respect grew out of the fact that Brigham Young still continued to be the leader of the community though he was not the Governor in a civil capacity. But it is more likely that their feelings were engendered by their pre-formed bitter prejudice against everything Mormon and often to hide their own sins and corruption. But history and facts bear witness that the Saints were and are law-abiding and loyal.

General Johnston would not understand this. He left the Territory in March, 1860, without ever having seen President Young. Such a visit was not worth his time he doubtless considered; but many of the army officers, upon invitation, paid their respects to the great colonizer, and before departing for the east they presented him with the flag-staff used at Camp Floyd, a significant sign of their changed opinions concerning his loyalty. The interesting memento of the war, or, rather the happy close of the war, was used by the President, at his residence, many years for floating the national banner.

The year of the outbreak of the great Rebellion witnessed the people of Utah loyally celebrating the 4th of July, an expressive event—indicative of their love for the Union—since the Mormons were suspected, and even accused, of favoring secession, or of desiring to establish a separate nation.

The Overland Telegraph Line was completed to Salt Lake City on the 17th of October, 1861, and on the 18th President Young was courteously tendered the first use of the wires, which he accepted. He congratulated the President of the company, at Cleveland, Ohio, upon the completion of the line, closing with these patriotic words:

"Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitu-

tion and laws of our once happy country, and is warmly interested in such useful enterprises as the one so far completed."

Replying, President J. H. Wade, of the Telegraph Company, said among other things that the message was "in every way gratifying, not only in the announcement of the completion of the Pacific Telegraph to your enterprising and prosperous city, but that yours, the first message to pass over the line, should express so unmistakably the patriotism and Union-loving sentiments of yourself and people." Governor Frank Fuller sent a message the same day to President Abraham Lincoln, who was inaugurated in March of that year, showing that he also shared in the sentiments of the Saints: "Utah, whose citizens strenuously resist all imputations of disloyalty, congratulates the President upon the completion of an enterprise," etc. The great Lincoln, in behalf of the Government, reciprocated the congratulations.

On the 24th of October, President Young sent the first message over the completed line to San Francisco. Utah was now in instant communication with the world. A new era was dawning upon the Saints, of which the telegraph was the signal. Their leader saw that this and the inevitable approach of the railroad, of which the line was a forerunner, would bring a new and manifest destiny to his people; but being himself a man foreordained by the Divine will to his condition, it was not difficult for Brigham Young to adapt himself to any change that might come by the revolution of progress. But as in other matters heretofore, the path which he marked out for his followers did not suit his enemies. Under the new era, he worked zealously for the welfare of the people as he had ever done at any previous time. It was in a new

way, perhaps, in a way to correspond with the altered condition of affairs, but for their prosperity and happiness, nevertheless.

On the 1st of July, 1861, the Salt Lake Theater was opened. President Young was its projector and owner, which indicates that he was a patron of and believer in the legitimate amusement. As was the case with all the public edifices of that time, its design bears the stamp of his rare architectural genius, the prolific variations of which are manifest no less in the Temple, (completed April 6th, 1893), the Tabernacle (finished October, 1867), and other public and private buildings, where it was the moving power of formation, than in his own words on the subject: "I have built a great many houses both for myself and for others. I have never built two houses alike, and I do not expect to in time or eternity, but I mean to improve every time I begin."

From the completion of the Overland, or perhaps long before, came the idea, to President Young, of binding the cities and towns of Utah together with a local telegraph line. The need was apparent; the settlements of the Saints were extended in all directions. All the leading Elders looked to him for counsel, for advice in everything that pertained both to temporal and spiritual affairs. Such a line was projected in 1861, but work thereon was not actively prosecuted until 1865, when a circular was sent to the leading Elders, in all parts of the Territory, asking them to get the poles, to gather means for purchasing the wires, select the route, erect the poles, find young men to go to Salt Lake City to learn telegraphy. From each settlement, teams were called for to go after the wire. The call met with a hearty response from all quarters. The people went to

work with a will, and by the fall of 1866, sixty-five wagons laden with wire arrived in Utah, and by December 1st the line between Ogden and Salt Lake City was completed, and the first message sent over it by President Young. By the middle of January, 1867, 500 miles of wire had been laid at a cost of \$150.00 per mile. From that time on offices were rapidly opened in all parts of the Territory. On the 23rd of October, 1871, the line was extended to Pioche, Nevada, (originally included in Utah, and first settled by the Mormons) for which the thanks of the citizens were sent to President Young whose public-spirited enterprise, in placing them in communication with the outer world, made them feel that they had escaped from barbarism to civilization. The building of this telegraph is a striking example of his ability to direct men and their labors.

His enterprise and far-sightedness was even more fully exemplified in the building of the Union Pacific and in the construction of local branch railways, a few years later. As early as 1847, he not only thought that the building of a trans-continental iron-way was feasible, but actually marked out the route over which such a road would pass. That the track of the Union Pacific is laid, for hundreds of miles, on the route that he pioneered, is proof of his mind's comprehensiveness and penetration on this question; and that competent authorities have pronounced it the best that could be selected is an evidence of his sound judgment in civil engineering. He told Mr. Reed, one of the early exploring engineers of the Union Pacific, that the best route for a railroad would be up the Platte River to the junction of the North and South Platte, then up the North Platte to the Platte Bridge, over the hills to the Sweetwater to

South Pass, through the Pass and then by the most direct route to Green River, thence up the Muddy and by way of Bear River to Echo Canyon, and then down the Weber.

How near he marked out the future path of the iron steed across the plains, the traveler may judge for himself. And yet it must be remembered that when he chose the pioneer route he had never crossed the country. In its choice, as in the selection of a spot for the central city of his people, he was led by a Higher Power than he himself possessed, call it intuition, apprehension, ready insight, or by its right name, the inspiration of the Spirit of God.

A prejudice existed in the minds of some people in the east in regard to the feelings of the Mormons and their leader in having a railroad pass through Utah, the former asserting that the latter were opposed to it. As we have seen, however, the Mormons were the first, long before the project was seriously considered by others, to favor it. As a standing and irrefutable testimony that its advent was desired by them is the fact that President Young took a contract to complete the grading of the highway from the head of Echo Canyon to Salt Lake Valley. In this contract, which amounted to about two and a quarter million dollars, and from which the distinguished contractor is said to have realized about \$800,000.00, was included the heavy stone work of the bridge abutments, and the cutting of the tunnels in Weber Canyon. Notwithstanding that the company, which was to pay a certain per cent. of the amount monthly, as the work progressed, failed at first to live up to their promises, the contract was faithfully executed; and it was acknowledged by railroad men that

nowhere on the line could the grading compare in completeness and finish with the work done by the people of Utah."

On the 8th of March, 1869, the Territory, gathered at the City of Ogden, greeted the arrival of the iron horse with shouts of, "Utah bids you welcome." "Hail to the great national highway."

Two months and two days later, at Promontory, on the northern shore of the Great Salt Lake, the last rail was laid, the last spike was driven that welded into one the Union and the Central Pacific Railroads. The American continent was banded by a pathway of iron. The guns boomed in the west, the bells tolled in the east, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf flashed the joyful electric tidings of the marriage of the two oceans, which clasped hands and gave their nuptial kiss in Utah, the land of the Mormons.

Only seven days after this event, May 17th, 1869, ground was broken near Ogden for the construction of the Utah Central Railroad. President Young cut the first sod with a spade, while it is customary to break ground with a pick. He said that he believed in using the most suitable tool. He was president of the company, which was organized on March 8th, 1869. The road was built by the people, and was purely a Mormon enterprise. The last spike was driven by President Young on the 10th of January, 1870, amid the rejoicing of thousands of people, when he had read an address, in which he called attention to the poverty of the Saints on their arrival in the valley, with no friend save God, and yet without assistance they had built homes, cities, farms, dug canals, water ditches, subdued the country, fed the stranger, clothed the naked, emigrated the poor, making them

comfortable and even rich, fed and clothed the Indians, and now built a railroad. The Territory was not the first dollar in debt. "Who has helped us to do all this? I will answer this question. It is the Lord Almighty. What are the causes of our success in all this? Union and oneness of purpose in the Lord."

Rolling stock and material to the value of \$600,000 were obtained on account of amounts due President Young from the Union Pacific, and thus was the road equipped. Then followed the building of the Utah Southern, (May, 1871), and the Utah Northern, (September 1871,) in the construction of which the President took a leading and directing part.

The sagacity of President Brigham Young is made plain in the commercial history of Utah. The early prosperity of commerce in the Territory may be assigned to a train of providential circumstances. The famine of 1856 had left the people almost destitute, but the establishment of Camp Floyd was a financial blessing to the people. Its evactuation was the basis for the "start" which the merchants received in 1861. At that time over four million dollars worth of merchandise was sold to dealers for about \$100,000.00. Thereafter, great progress was made in merchandising and there were merchants with almost unlimited credit in the east. But all the profits were going to individuals, and it was the spirit of the Saints to be alike, to share equal, to be in a degree socialistic. This was the view that the Prophet Joseph had taken in Kirtland, which ended in financial trouble. In material affairs, President Young could take no other view—the welfare of the whole people first, individuals, who would necessarily thrive with the community, after; that was the spirit of his teachings, and it was not con-

sidered best for individuals to engage in merchandising since it tended to class distinction. The whole community were to be equal—trade was necessary, but it must be carried on for the benefit of all. The President could observe that as the railroad approached great financial and social changes would take place. To guard the money interests of the people, as well as to insure their temporal supremacy, he saw that there must be union in temporal as well as in spiritual things. Hence his announcement, early in 1868, "that it was advisable that the people of Utah should become their own merchants."

Then followed the organization of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, which began business early in 1869. President Young's interest for the whole people came in contact with the self-interest of the few, and this came nearly causing a serious rupture with the merchants of those days, and was really a leading cause of the "Godbeite" schism but the policy of the leader triumphed, and no person today will question the value that co-operation has been to the Mormons, not only in dollars and cents, but, financial supremacy and prestige.

The parent house of Z. C. M. I. in Salt Lake City was organized, followed by the establishment of several important branches, besides co-op. stores in nearly every settlement, some of which, however, either through bad management or through the financial panic of 1873 went under. The parent institution has an enormous trade,\* and with kindred institutions constitutes the

\* "That the institution has met with success in a commercial sense equal to the brightest hopes of its founders will not be disputed when it is stated that during its twenty-one years' existence, including the year 1891, its sales aggregated the enormous sum of \$69,146,881.06, and that up to the 5th of May, 1892, it had paid in cash and stock dividends \$2,059,874.07." Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. 2., p. 293

temporal bulwark of the Mormons. It has helped materially to preserve them as a community; it has earned for them a financial influence abroad, while it has maintained a uniformity in prices, and has been a ballast to trade at home; it has held the money resources of the people within themselves, and in a great measure it has insured the social unity of the Saints. Carried out strictly as President Young intended, the idea would have strengthened each of these bonds to a much greater degree; and today the Mormons would have been more on an equality, more united, and a stronger and happier community than they are; though, even as matters exist, their parallel in these respects, cannot be found on the face of the earth.

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#### 10. PERSECUTION AND ARREST.

Not long at a time was President Young left in peace. His days seem to have been full of persecution. The power which he wielded over the people did not please his enemies, who often constituted themselves a missionary band to break it down. Of course, they failed, but their efforts were not without annoyance to him at a time when his past splendid work should have served as a bulwark of peace to him.

The anti-polygamy law, passed by Congress in 1862, was considered unconstitutional by the Saints. After they had made every effort to prove it so, it was finally decided by the highest authority in the land that it was in accord with the Constitution, when, as we have seen, the practice of polygamy was suspended by them. As early as 1863 there was an effort made to arrest the

President on the charge of violating the law of 1862. Governor Harding, aided by the federal judges, at that time began his raid upon the people and their institution of marriage. His career, however, was soon cut short by removal, owing to the friendly attitude of President Lincoln, who was a believer in the policy of letting the Mormons alone.

Early in the fall of 1862 Colonel Connor had come to Utah from California with several hundred troops, purposely to protect the mail route over the plains, but upon arrival he discovered that this had already been done by Mormon volunteers, for whom the Government had called on President Young; he found, thereupon, that his mission was to watch and overawe the Mormon people, the loyalty of whose leaders the Secretary of war had discovered some pretext for doubting. The Colonel had about 700 men, who had enlisted to fight Southern rebels. He founded Camp Douglas, and is credited with being the "father of Utah mining." He did some good service with his troops in fighting Indians on Bear River. His presence in the Territory seems to have inspired Governor Harding to change his friendly policy towards the Mormons. There is no doubt that Colonel Connor, who years after became very friendly towards President Young, offering at one time to go his bail for a million dollars, was at this time in sympathy with the Governor, and now that there was talk of arresting the President, there were also rumors of the troops capturing him "to run him off to the States for trial." This caused him to have armed guards about his home, and likewise engendered a very bitter feeling between the citizens and the soldiery, so much so that a collision at one time seemed imminent. To avoid this,

President Young, at the proper time, permitted himself to be taken before Justice Kinney, where he was bound over. The grand jury failed to indict, owing to lack of evidence, and thus ended that trouble, not, however, without creating rumors in the east of another Utah war.

The part that the Governor took caused his dismissal, and for this President Lincoln gained the lasting friendship of the Mormon people.

A period of political peace and good feeling now followed, broken only by the desire of Colonel Connor to establish a military in lieu of a civil government in Utah, a scheme that utterly failed, and was followed by kind sentiments between the citizens and soldiers.

President Lincoln died on the 14th of April, 1865, and the Mormons mourned the loss of the best friend they have ever had in the nation's presidential chair. Solemn public services were held in the Tabernacle on the day of the beloved leader's interment. New difficulties now arose, or were about to arise.

In the summer of 1865, Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, visited Utah. He was tendered a cordial reception and demonstration of welcome in Salt Lake City. During his stay he had an interview with President Young, in which the subject of polygamy came up for consideration. Mr. Colfax hoped that the system would be abandoned, that the Church would receive a new revelation putting a stop to the practice. In such an event Utah would be admitted as a State of the Union, otherwise no such admission was possible. This was his friendly advice, repeated to the public.

President Young defended the system from the scriptures, maintaining it was not only biblical, "but had,

within proper limits, a sound moral and philosophical reason and propriety." The discussion between them "was general and sharp, though very good natured."

The following day was Sunday, and the President had consented to preach in the bowery before his visitors, on the "Distinct Doctrines of Mormonism." This he did. The speech did not please the Colfax party, nor in fact the people, for it was a failure for some cause. Judging from the speech, the literary man of the party, Mr. Bowles, a Boston journalist, concluded that while Brigham Young was "a shrewd business man, an able organizer of labor, a bold, brave person in dealing with all the practicalities of life," he was "in no sense an impressive or effective speaker." In the latter judgment, the critic was mistaken, for President Young was really "an effective and impressive speaker" on most occasions, but this time he was not half himself. Burton having heard him on one occasion, in his "City of the Saints" testifies of this: "The discourse began slowly, word crept titubantly after word, and the opening phrases were hardly audible; but as the orator warmed, his voice rose high and sonorous, and a fluency so remarkable succeeded falter and hesitation, that although the phenomenon is not rare in strong speakers the latter seemed almost to have been a work of art. The manner was pleasing and animated, and the matter fluent, impromptu, and well turned, spoken rather than preached. \* \* \* The gestures were easy and rounded, not without a certain grace, though evidently untaught."

The Colfax party left for the west on June 19th. The result of their visit was a better understanding of the Mormons, with whom they were well pleased in all respects, save in their practice of polygamy, with which

they were deeply disgusted. The Speaker's determination as to the stand which the government should take against it found vigorous administrative effect when later he became Vice-President of the United States, and the close and confidential adviser of the great warrior President, Ulysses S. Grant. To this visit, and the determination formed, may be traced the beginning of the judicial persecution that came upon President Young and his people in 1870-1-2-3-4-5, not to say the inhuman feeling that nearly resulted in determining the administration to send the army to Utah, to sweep the practice away by the bayonet.

President Grant was inaugurated on March 4th, 1869, and the policy to let the Mormons alone was from now on abandoned by the administration. Having settled the slavery question, the President determined to solve the Mormon problem, termed the "twin relic," by special legislation and judicial machinery, or, these failing, by the sword as the first had been determined. There were persons who were responsible for his unfriendliness to the Saints, first among whom was Vice-President Colfax, whose advice to abandon polygamy, given some years previously, the Saints had not heeded; secondly, the Rev. J. P. Newman, a Methodist minister, the so-called intellectual warrior Chaplain of the Senate, who came from Washington to discuss polygamy with the Mormon leader; and thirdly, the establishment, in 1870, of the Liberal Party in Utah, the misrepresentations of which backed the agitations and designs of the others.

Vice-President Colfax once more visited Utah, in 1869, but declined the hospitality of the people. Evidently, he came to view the field once more before

beginning vigorous action, before deciding whether to let the courts, officered by bitter foes to the Mormons, or the army, with their bayonets, decide the fate of the Saints.

It was about this time that the Godbeite, or "new movement" began in Salt Lake City. A number of disaffected Mormons began to oppose President Young, and what they termed his "one man power," his temporal leanings, exemplified in the organization of Z. C. M. I., the building of railroads and other secular enterprises. These Elders were at length excommunicated, and their withdrawal threatened a dangerous schism in the Church. Mr. Colfax, whose visit occurred about three weeks prior to the excommunication, heard of the prospective schism, and considered it a good sign; he therefore took pains to meet with the leaders of the movement, and it is maintained by them that the answer which Mr. Stenhouse, one of the heretics, gave to the Vice-President's question: "Will Brigham Young fight?" averted another Mormon war, or at least tempered the spirit of the Vice-President to such an extent that he decided that the Government should foster the schism, and let it take the place of the army for the present. Mr. Stenhouse's answer was: "For God's sake, Mr. Colfax, keep the United States off." The seceding Mormon Elders asked to be let alone to solve the problem, with the countenance and favor of the Government. "But this very movement against the parent Church," says the Historian Tullidge, "composed of Apostate Mormon Elders and leading Salt Lake merchants, prevented the interposition of the military arm, and greatly changed and modified the original intentions of the Government, as inspired by Vice-President Colfax, and determined by President Grant."

From this new movement grew in time the Liberal Party, a party composed entirely of non-Mormons and apostates, whose bitter and unscrupulous warfare against the Saints is almost without a parallel in the history of political strife. Only the calm and cool judgment of President Young and the patience and self-control of the Mormons, averted a bloody and disastrous conflict. The troubles which the members of this party, always aided by conspirators at the seat of Government, were enabled to bring upon the whole people, will some day appear as one of the strangest chapters in our national history.

It was not long after the visit of Mr. Colfax that the Cragin and Cullom bills were introduced into Congress, but their animus over-reached itself, and on this account, as well as a visit of Mr. Godbe, the leader of the "new movement," to President Grant and Senator Cullom, they failed of passage.

Then followed Dr. Newman's evangelical crusade, his correspondence with President Young, in which the latter's tact and intelligence, as well as superiority, is beautifully illustrated, and the Doctor's defeat by Apostle Pratt. The whole had the effect of setting the minister more than ever against the Mormons; and since he was a dear, personal friend of President Grant, the reverend gentleman did much to promote the bitter judicial crusade against the Saints that followed.

The Grant-Colfax administration, as stated, now decided to abandon to some extent the proposed military subjugation of the Territory, but to go to war in deadly earnest against Mormonism through appointed federal officers. To begin with the proper men were found in J. Wilson Shaffer, and Chief Justice James B. McKean

the most determined foes that Utah ever had. Their mission was not alone to depose Brigham Young, but it was to overthrow Mormonism, "a mission," Judge McKean is said to have remarked, "as high above my mere duty as judge as heaven is above the earth." Says the historian Whitney: "They not only strained every energy of their souls, every function of their offices and every power of the law, but where the law fell short they eked it out with legislation of their own, usurping powers and functions that did not pertain to their offices, and by acting as arbitrary despots covered themselves and the cause they represented with more or less reproach. These facts were apparent not only to the Mormons, but to many Gentiles as well. We speak more particularly of Judge McKean, whose career in Utah was much the longer."

The administration sent out soldiers to act as a "moral force" in the protection of Gentiles and apostates, and so that the "oppressed" might find a shield. Camp Rawlins, near Provo, was thus formed.

The first move on the part of the Governor was to forbid the muster of the territorial militia, he being, by virtue of his office, Commander in Chief of the Nauvoo Legion. Without authority of the Legislature and contrary to law, the Governor took it upon himself, also, to dismiss Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Wells, and appoint P. E. Connor Major-General of the militia of Utah. Then he issued a proclamation disarming and practically disbanding the Mormon militia. He was carrying out his threat to depose President Young as Governor *de facto* of Utah. He had said upon arriving: "Never after me shall it be said that Brigham Young is Governor of Utah." He considered that the Mormon

militia, instead of being under the control of the Governor, was under the authority of the Church or Brigham Young, hence his attack. The Provo riot and other unlawful acts followed, so that a constant agitation was continued.

On the 31st of October, 1870, the Governor died, but his successors followed in his footsteps. In the summer of 1871 George L. Woods became Governor. He pursued the same policy as his predecessors towards the militia. The acting Governor under him, Secretary Black, commanded "that all persons except United States troops desist from participating in or attempting to participate in any military drill, muster or parade, of any kind, at any place within said territory, from and after this date (June 30, 1871), or until it shall be otherwise ordered and commanded by the Governor and Commander in Chief of the militia of the Territory of Utah." The command was brought out from the fact that some of the militia were asked to participate in a Fourth of July celebration, which was thus forbidden them.

Judge McKean had not failed to fill his part of the program, and the disbanding of the militia was but a prelude, doubtless considered necessary for safety, to the judicial invasion of the people's rights brought about by his high-handed acts. He made the dead Cullom bill his guide and law, disgracing his office "in a manner to which the world can furnish no parallel," until the Supreme Court of the United States reversed his decisions.\* At length every step was ready for the

\* In reviewing Judge McKean's administration, George Caesar Bates, Esq., United States District Attorney for Utah, says: "Appointed through the Jesuitical influence of the Methodist Church, and sustained by the combined bigotry of the land, his downfall only came through the sheer recklessness of his despotic and brutal career.

consummation of the climatic act of the Judge's ambition—the indictment, arrest and trial of President Brigham Young. He, with other leading Mormons, was to be tried, not for polygamy under the Congressional act of 1862, but for lewd and lascivious cohabitation under a territorial law which he, himself, as Governor, had approved, and which, of course, was never intended to apply to plural marriages.

The Utah Penitentiary, a Territorial institution, was taken and placed in the hands of the United States Marshal. Jurors for the fall term of the Third District Court had been chosen—in an illegal way, be it said—no Mormons being admitted. Everything being thus in readiness even the "moral force" of the army was not lacking. President Young was arrested on Monday, October 2nd, 1871. He was ill at the time, and could not leave his home, hence, through the kindness of the Marshal, he was allowed to remain there, being permitted to answer to the call of the court as soon as he was able. He appeared on the 9th, and was admitted to bail in the sum of \$5,000.00.\* Defendant's counsel

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"A careful search of the records will reveal how, through such instrumentalities as those of packed grand and petit juries, a corrupt judge, a pretended United States District Attorney, appointed by that judge, and the states evidence of an atrocious murderer, who purchased his own immunity from justice by his perjury, it was intended to consummate the judicial murder of Brigham Young, Mayor Wells, of Salt Lake City, Hosea Stout, Joseph A. Young and other leading Mormons, on charges the most absurd and untrue."

\*Of his appearance, the Salt Lake *Tribune*, his bitterest enemy, said : "There can be no doubt that the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints made several very good points yesterday. His being there a quarter of an hour before Judge McKean, patiently waiting his coming, was very wisely arranged and looked well on an occasion which opens a

plead that "he can only be indicted for the crime aforesaid by a Grand Jury duly selected, drawn, summoned and impaneled according to the laws of the Territory of Utah. That said Grand Jury, by whom said pretended indictment was found, was not drawn according to said law; but an open venire was issued."

A motion was made to quash the indictment on the ground that it contained sixteen counts for the same offense. Then came arguments pro and con which continued for several days, when Judge McKean finally rendered a decision on the various points in question, a decision that created a profound sensation. Why? Because in it was this extraordinary announcement: "It is therefore proper to say, that while the case at bar is called The People vs. Brigham Young, its other and real title is, Federal Authority vs. Polygamic Theocracy."

So it seemed that notwithstanding the complaint, he was arrested not for unlawful cohabitation—not for a personal crime, but for polygamy, the grand offense of the whole people, and yet he was to be tried under a law for adultery. "In short," says the Historian Whitney, "instead of an action brought by the public prosecutor against Brigham Young, as a person, it was, according

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series of circumstances destined to form a chapter of history. His appearance in court too—his quietude, and an altogether seeming absence of a spirit chafing with rage at being brought to trial, evidently made a good impression. \* \* \* It is evident that President Young thus coming to court, and his resolution to abide every trial, and contest the charges brought against him, constitutionally through his counsel, was the very wisest course he could have taken. \* \* \* Perhaps there was more respect and sympathy felt for Brigham Young when he left the court room, feeble and tottering from his recent illness, having respectfully sat in the presence of his judge three-quarters of an hour after bail had been taken, than ever there was before in the minds of the same men."

to Judge McKean, a crusade inaugurated by the United States Government against the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It was this that created the sensation; and not only in Utah among the Mormons, but in other parts of the country the extraordinary language of the Chief Justice was commented upon and severely criticised."

On October 16th, the defendant having plead not guilty, further proceedings were postponed to give both sides an opportunity to prepare. It was understood the case would not be called up before the following March term. In the meantime other indictments charging leading Mormons with murder, were ground out by the grand jury, on the false testimony of the notorious Bill Hickman. Daniel H. Wells was thus arrested. President Young was indicted under this charge, on the 28th of October, but he departed for his yearly visit to Southern Utah soon thereafter and was therefore not arrested. He was accused of being accessory to the murder of one Richard Yeates, November 15, 1857, during the "Buchanan War."

When he left Salt Lake City, first obtaining the counsel of his attorneys, for the south, he was not aware of this indictment, which had secretly lain in the Judge's pocket for a month, and departed expecting to return in time to answer to the charge of lascivious cohabitation in March. Consequently it was a matter of grave surprise to all when, on the 20th of November, his case was suddenly called for hearing. His attorney asked for a postponement, basing his request on the promise of the court implying a grant of time until the opening of the March term. The prosecuting attorney wished to proceed, however, and finally persisted in demanding a forfeiture

of the bond, notwithstanding counsel for defense declared he would be ready for trial on reasonable notice. The prosecuting attorney argued that the defendant had absconded, intimating that it was owing to the murder indictment. He then demanded the forfeiture of the bond as a legal right. At last it was agreed to set the time for hearing for December 4th.

Meanwhile it was published throughout the land that President Young had fled from justice, and extravagant tales were told of his conduct and whereabouts, that evidently being the object of calling the case so early and suddenly.

On the day set for the trial, a new district attorney, Mr. Bates, was present and took his oath of office. The case was brought up, but the defendant not being present, it was decided to re-call and press it for trial on the 9th of January.

President Young, hearing that he had been indicted, came from St. George, of his own accord, and without warning, to answer to the charges, appearing before the Judge, in court, on the 2nd day of January, 1872. His accuser were greatly surprised, it is said, at the sudden return of the alleged fugitive from justice; their surprise, however, was more in the nature of a disappointment. Their object in making themselves and the nation believe that he had fled, was of course to call in question his courage and honor, which they succeeded in doing, not to the desired extent, in certain quarters. But here he stood, the lion of the hour, to confound his enemies, and their wicked aspersions upon his noble character. He "had returned to surrender himself to his persecutors, to face in open court his accusers and stand trial before a biased judge and a hostile jury upon the charges that

had been laid at his door. Yes, it was even so; in spite of every prediction and expectation of his enemies to the contrary, the Mormon leader had come back, as he intended doing when he departed; though his return, in order to redeem his pledge, to relieve his bondsmen, and to honor the requisition of the law, was fully two months earlier than he had anticipated at starting. Nearly 400 miles in mid-winter, traveling almost the entire distance by team, through mud and sleet, through frost and snow and winter's biting blasts, he had come to confront and confound his foes."

His attorney asked that he be admitted to bail, to which the U. S. Attorney replied that it was left with the discretion of the court, but if bail were accepted, he (the attorney) would ask that it be fixed at \$500,000.00. This amount was \$400,000.00 more than was required of Jefferson Davis, by the Chief Justice of the United States, for the high crime of treason, and President Young's attorney protested.

Judge McKean gave his decision, in which he said: The defendant now at the bar is reputed to be the owner of several houses in this city. If he shall choose to put under the control of the Marshal some suitable building in which to be detained, it will be for the Marshal to decide whether or not he will accept it. It is at the option of the defendant to say whether or not he will make such an offer, and equally at the option of the Marshal to say whether or not he will accept it. In any event, where or however the defendant may be detained, the Marshal will look to it that his every comfort be provided for, remembering that the defendant is an old man. I decline to admit the defendant to bail."

In charge of the U. S. Marshal, President Young

passed out greeted on every hand by the multitude who pressed forward to see the noble veteran, or grasp his hand in friendly sympathy. The Marshal permitted him to remain a prisoner in his own home, where he was guarded by deputies, treated with due courtesy, and permitted every reasonable comfort.

On January 9th, the day set for the trial, the U. S. District Attorney, at the suggestion of the Attorney General, asked for a continuance of all court business, because there was no money to carry on the work. The court accordingly ordered all criminal and civil causes, that were to be tried before juries, continued until the second Monday in March.

The charges never came to trial. Before President Young's cases were reached, the Supreme Court of the country, in the famous Englebrecht liquor case, decided, April 15th, 1872, that the jury in that case "was not selected and summoned in conformity with law." This applied to nearly all other cases which Judge McKean and the crusaders had busied themselves with for the past twenty months. On the 30th of April, the assistant district attorney of the Third District Court moved the release of all persons held under indictments found by grand juries impaneled under the illegal method. This was granted. President Young was previously, on April 25th, given his freedom, on a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Elias Smith of the Probate Court of Salt Lake County.

Thus ended these indictments against the Mormon leader, to the great chagrin and dishonor of his enemies.

## 11. ONE DAY IN THE PENITENTIARY.

But Judge McKean still seemed determined to wreak his vengeance on the Founder of Utah. The opportunity offered itself, but it cost the Judge his place. It provoked his own doom.

On the 28th of July, 1873, the famous Ann Eliza Webb Young, the alleged "nineteenth" wife of President Young, planted a divorce suit in Judge McKean's court. She set forth that defendant, Brigham Young, was in receipt of an income of about \$40,000.00 per month, and asked that \$1,000.00 per month be set aside for her support. The case remained in court for nineteen months, when, on February 25th, 1875, the Judge directed that defendant pay the plaintiff \$3,000.00 to aid in prosecuting her suit for divorce, and that he also pay her the further sum of \$500.00 per month for the maintenance of herself and her two children, to begin from the date of the filing of the complaint. Ten days were given the defendant to pay the first amount, and twenty days in which to pay the accumulated alimony, amounting now to \$9,500.00. The defendant hesitated in complying with the order, appealing to the Supreme Court.

At the expiration of the time, plaintiff's counsel obtained an order of attachment requiring the defendant to come into court and show cause why he should not be punished for contempt. On the 11th of March, President Young appeared personally to make answer. Through his attorney, he disclaimed all intention to disregard or treat contemptuously the order of the court, and prayed to be discharged until the appeal to the Supreme Court had been determined. His counsel also asked that defendant, being in poor health, might be permitted to

withdraw, on his own recognizance or on a bond, while the arguments were being heard. This the Judge refused, because he desired, evidently that the victim of his foreordained program should be present when the issue came. After the arguments, which, with the preliminaries, lasted three hours, the Judge delivered his decision adjudging the defendant guilty of contempt, inflicting a fine of \$25.00, and ordering him to be imprisoned twenty-four hours.

After the rendering of the decision the \$3,000.00 was paid to the plaintiff's counsel, and the unparalleled outrage of sending the defendant to prison was indignantly, but without demonstration, witnessed by the excited citizens.

The imprisonment of a man seventy-four years of age, in ill health, for an offense which was not intended, and under a decision subsequently determined to be illegal, was pronounced by all, regardless of party, as a mean, unmagnanimous act. But the Judge evidently wished to humiliate the man he hated. In this he failed, for President Young, with the calm dignity so characteristic of him, maintained his composure, was not in the least disconcerted, nor in the slightest uneasy or excited. With a quiet demeanor, indicating his superiority, he left the court in custody of an officer, drove to his residence, ate his dinner, supplied himself with bedding, and was then conveyed, accompanied by many friends, through a heavy storm, to the penitentiary. Here he was at first placed with thieves and criminals, but afterwards given a private room where he passed the night in comparative comfort. Next day, March 12th, he was liberated and escorted to the city amid a multitude of friends.

The press of the country strongly condemned the act of Judge McKean. He had been prosecuting polygamists for adultery, and now, by his decision in this case, he acknowledged a polygamous marriage as legal, by granting alimony. It was more than even the administration, which should have removed the Judge when the Supreme Court checked his former illegal methods by reversing his decisions, could tolerate, and on the 16th announcement was made that President Grant had appointed a new Chief Justice, Judge McKean having been removed because of his fanatical and extreme conduct, and because of several acts of his which the President considered ill-advised, tyrannical, and in excess of his powers as Judge. Thus sank Judge McKean never to rise again, except to be detested in the memory of a people for whom he harbored a deadly hate. That feeling has today given way to pity and forgiveness, even as President Young was magnanimous enough to forgive and pity him when he subjected the great founder to what the zealous missionary Judge supposed was a great humiliation.

Of the Ann Eliza case it need only be said that when it came to trial at last, April 20th 1877, Judge Shaeffer decreed the polygamous marriage between the two to be null and void, and he directed "that all orders for temporary alimony which had not been complied with, paid or collected, be revoked and annulled, and assessed the cost of the suit against the defendant."

## 12. HIS CLOSING YEARS.

The days of Brigham Young were drawing to a close. Until the last, however, he was busy with work for the advancement and welfare of the Latter-day Saints. Up to the end, he was interested in the colonization of the country. Utah was now dotted in all parts with thriving settlements of Latter-day Saints. In 1873, a move was made to colonize Arizona. Missionaries from all parts of the Territory of Utah were called for this purpose, and they met in Salt Lake City on the 8th of March to receive the needed instructions of the great and experienced colonizer. It was not long thereafter until organized companies were seen wending their way south. On being asked concerning this move, by some publisher from the east, President Young thus explains the motive: "We intend establishing settlements in Arizona, in the country of the Apaches, persuaded that if we become acquainted with them we can influence them to peace in accordance with President Grant's Indian policy, and open up that country to the settlement of the whites. Our cities, towns and villages now extend about four hundred miles in that direction, and, in view of the railroad crossing that country, we hope to be prepared to assist in its construction, and when completed bring a large portion of our emigration that way to settle the country."

The colonizers at first met with failure, but their efforts resulted in the experience which finally led to success, and at present Arizona contains several Stakes and many thriving settlements of the Latter-day Saints.

The founder of Utah was a strong advocate and a firm friend of education, in its true sense. "Every

accomplishment," said he, "every polished grace, every useful attainment in mathematics, music, and in all science and art belong to the Saints, and they should avail themselves as expeditiously as possible of the wealth of knowledge the sciences offer to every diligent and persevering student." Besides aiding in the establishment of the Deseret University, he was the founder of two of the leading educational institutions in the Territory—the Brigham Young Academy of Provo, and the Brigham Young College of Logan. The former dates its history from October 16, 1875, on which day the founder executed a deed of trust of certain buildings and grounds in Provo City, to a board of seven trustees, with provisions for perpetuating the organization. To aid in sustaining the institution thus founded, he conveyed other premises to the trustees, on his birthday in 1877.

On July 24th, 1877, he deeded to the trustees of the Logan institution, which was that day founded, a tract of land consisting of 9642 acres, located south of Logan City, the rents, profits and issues of which were to be used for the support of the Brigham Young College. *Bancroft Library*

He was inspired to organize the Young Men's and Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations, and to give the key note to the work expected of them, which work began in the summer of 1875, and which has grown until these societies of the young now number among their members tens of thousands of the sons and daughters of the Mormons. He took the liveliest interest in the Sunday schools, and the children who greeted him with honor whenever he appeared in the settlements of the Saints were his pride and joy and his dear friends. There are tens of thousands who have stood in line to greet him, who now revere his memory, and other sixty

thousand, now in childhood, who have learned to love his name.\*

He lived to see completed, and to dedicate, the first temple in the midst of the Rocky Mountains. In April, 1877, he saw the temple at St. George fully dedicated and prepared for the administration of holy ordinances for the living and the dead, himself setting it in order.

He devoted his last days to the completion of the organization of the Church, setting in order the Priesthood, and organizing the various Stakes of Zion, according to the pattern revealed from heaven, thus giving a government to the Latter-day Saints which is the admiration of all who make it a study. He finished this work on the Sunday preceding his death. He showed the people the beauty, helpfulness, and harmony of their religion, and in his constant and untiring labors among them, he made the gospel a living force, full of power and marvelous beauty—"a perfect law of liberty, comprehending life and light, justice and judgment." He visited in all seasons and weathers, instructing, counseling, advising, correcting and encouraging his people, on all kinds of subjects, simple and profound, temporal and spiritual, both in public and private. Whether in matters affecting the common affairs of life, or those involving the dearest interests of humanity, in his intercourse with the people, he was ever kind and patient, manifesting deep wisdom and fatherly solicitude. Thus

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\* "When questions pregnant with great events pressed hard, he was able to build upon the firm foundation of wisdom and justice, forecast the future, meet the demands of the present, and then in a breath show his confidence in God, his freedom from care, by caressing the lips of innocent childhood and tenderly winning the love of babes."—Moses Thatcher.

he endeared himself to the Saints, in whose hearts love has deeply enshrined his memory.

Honored and beloved, ripe in age, surrounded by his family, to cheer, wait upon, and administer to him, he passed peacefully to rest. He died at 4 o'clock p.m., August 29th, 1877. He said to those around him: "You are so good," and his last words were, "Joseph, Joseph, Joseph." "His departure was like the falling asleep of a little infant. No tremor, no contortions; but as peaceful and as quiet, as still as if it were indeed the most gentle slumber."

Over 25,000 persons viewed his remains lying in state in the Tabernacle, and over 30,000 came from all parts of the Territory to attend the funeral ceremonies which were held on the 2nd of September, 1877. It was a fine, calm Sabbath day, and the sun shone with beauty from a cloudless, lovely sky. Memorial services were held everywhere throughout the Territory and wherever colonies of the Saints existed.

His mortal remains rest in a private cemetery, on an elevation a short distance north-east of the Eagle Gate, commanding a splendid view of Salt Lake City, and the valley south and west. There is no monument over his unpretentious grave, possibly from the fact that "Brigham Young needs no monument to perpetuate his name and character, save that which he himself, by his own works and virtues, has reared in the hearts of his people."

His spirit is with God who gave it; the stamp of his genius, his work, his master mind, his public-spiritedness, is sealed upon every enterprise in the commonwealth: his goodness, greatness and large-heartedness, upon every heart which knew, or which has learned to know him.

## PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

President Brigham Young was the father of fifty-six children, and left seventeen wives, sixteen sons, and twenty-eight daughters, to perpetuate his name and greatness in the earth. As a husband and father, he was kind and loving. His family were as deeply devoted to him as he was to them, and their affection for him speaks in loud praise of his kindness, goodness and fatherly care.

In stature, he was a little above the medium height. In personal appearance, he was stately, having a compact and well-knit frame, inclined to portliness. His features were a pleasant study, regular, sharp, well-formed, with clear grey eyes, a broad forehead, a changeable expression varying according to circumstances from a smile which revealed a heart full of deep sympathy, love and affection, to a stern, cold look indicating strong will, self-reliance, and a master at rebuke,—the "Lion of the Lord," as he was often called. Says Apostle Moses Thatcher: "If he was compelled to disappoint anyone, how kindly he could explain the reason for so doing! And yet, with all his tenderness, how terrible was his rebuke when moved upon by the Holy Ghost." Of his manner and address, Bancroft says that "he was easy and void of affectation, deliberate in speech, conveying his original and suggestive ideas in apt though homely phrase." Mrs. Lippincott (Grace Greenwood) says of his appearance, in the Tabernacle at a mass meeting, that she was greatly surprised: "I could not recognize the picture so often and elaborately painted. I did not see a common, gross-looking person, with rude manners, and a sinister, sensual countenance, but a well dressed,

dignified old gentleman, with a pale, mild face, a clear gray eye, a pleasant smile, a courteous address, and withal a patriarchal, paternal air, which of course he comes rightly by. In short I could see in his face or manner none of the profligate propensities and the dark crimes charged against this mysterious, masterly, many-sided and many-wived man."

His actions toward the sufferers of the great Chicago fire illustrated his broad practical philanthropy with as much force as when, in the exodus, with his sick child in his arms, he shared his scanty rations with the women and children who held out their hands for bread. When the news of this startling conflagration reached Salt Lake City, his response with that of his people to the call for relief was as hearty as it was generous. In the midst of severe persecution, brought about by Judge McKean, he set his own difficulties aside, and headed the subscription list of Utah's relief offering to the Chicago sufferers, amounting to about \$20,000, with a donation of \$1,000. Says Grace Greenwood, who was in the city of the Saints at the time: "There is to me, I must acknowledge, in this prompt and liberal action of the Mormon people, something strange and touching. It is Hagar ministering to Sarah; it is Ishmael giving a brotherly lift to Isaac."

In language, President Young was outspoken and plain; he never minced matters with anyone, high or low, nor treated the simplest honest member of the Church with less deference than the greatest of the many distinguished men and women who called upon him from all parts of the earth. He spoke openly, and none could mistake his meaning. Says Judge Hosea Stout: "He does all his sly deeds before the assembled

multitude. \* \* \* I defy any man to produce one solitary example of chicanery or double-dealing in his character or career." Burton says: "His manner is at once affable and impressive, simple and courteous,—shows no sign of dogmatism,—impresses the stranger with a certain sense of power."

He had an excellent memory, and was a good judge of character. His mind was as capable of grasping and deciding upon great questions as it was fitted to direct in the smallest details of life's everyday affairs. Says Apostle Thatcher: "The scope of his mind seemed limitless. \*

\* \* \* He could speak the language of the stars, discourse eloquently regarding the organization of worlds; and then in simple terms direct how to plow and plant, reap and sow." - At his funeral, President George Q. Cannon said that "he has been the brain, the eye, the ear, the mouth and hand for the entire people of the Church. \* \* \* Nothing was too small for his mind; nothing was too large. His mind was of that character that it could grasp the greatest subjects, and yet it had the capacity to descend to the minutest details."

His sermons were as practical and full of common sense, as his demeanor was calm and devoid of extravagance and affectation. He discussed upon the highest philosophy and upon doctrine the most profound, but in the same sermon, taught his hearers how to beautify their homes, how to build cities, how to redeem the desert. The embodiment of his religion was to do good here upon this earth, and he put his doctrine into practice. "The Lord does not thank you for your alms," said he, "long prayers, sanctimonious speeches and long faces, if you refuse to extend the hand of benevolence and charity to

your fellow-creatures, and lift them up, and encourage and strengthen the feeble."

The people, from whom he sprung, and with whom he had always mingled, sought his advice for its wisdom and moderation, and loved him for his hearty, genial, lofty soul, no less than for his conscientious course and deep convictions of right and justice. "He has had to settle difficulties with thousands, and where is the man, Mormon or anti-Mormon, who ever appealed to him for the decision of a case but was satisfied with the result?"

He had faults, because he was mortal and doubtless these appeared grave to his enemies, who were many and bitter; but his virtues swallowed them up, and time is reducing the animus of his diminishing foes to give place to the admiration of his increasing hosts of friends. Ranking among the immortal benefactors of his race, his defects need no apologies, as his character needs no chiseled monument to mark its greatness.

In the whole mountain region of the west, we see the traces of his marvelous genius and his still more wonderful influence on the minds of his people, their organizations and institutions. He stamped his opinions on his day and age, and succeeding generations, gazing through the clarifying glasses of time, will know the truth even better than we, and link his name with the greatest and the noblest characters of earth.

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